

are nevertheless held to be bawling (*Reed v. St. Paul's Church* [1895], 3 K.B. 249).

A minister of religion can commit the offence of bawling as well as a layman (*Falleney v. Fletcher* [1897], 1 Q.B. 265), and may, if a minister of the Church of England, be punished in the ecclesiastical instead of in the civil court (*Girt v. Fillingham* [1901], P. 176). This is obvious if he indulges in an open quarrel or wordy warfare in the sacred place; but he also commits the offence if he uses violent language, unsuitable to public worship, either in the course of his sermon or at any other part of the service, or 'improves the occasion' against individual members of the congregation in a violent or scolding manner.

Instances of this have come before the courts in the case of clergymen of the Church of England, who are strictly bound (during services), by the Acts of Uniformity, to the words prescribed for use. Thus in one case a clergyman interposed, when reading the lesson, the following: 'I have been accused by some ill-natured neighbours of making alterations in the service, I have done so now and shall do so again, so mark.' In another case the clergyman paused in the service to deliver a long address in a chiding, quarrelsome, and bawling manner, in which passages like the following appeared: 'You were perhaps surprised at the peace I made at the end of the prayer [in the Litany], but it reminded me of my enemies.' 'Some one in the congregation has had the audacity to write to the Archbishop.' 'Who has had the audacity to do this?' 'Some one has committed perjury against me.' 'Another of my enemies has written a letter to the bishop full of falsehoods.' Such conduct is punishable.

The object of the laws of England is well put by Sir John Nicholl in the case of *Palmer v. Roffey*, 2 Addams 144. It is to protect the sanctity of those places and their appurtenances set apart for the worship of the Supreme Being and for the repose of the dead, in which nothing but religious awe and Christian goodwill between men should prevail, and to prevent them from being converted with impunity into scenes of human passion and malice, of disturbance and violence. The sacredness of the place being thus the object of this protecting law, it is no part of a legal inquiry, when more than one person is implicated in the transaction, which of the two persons so implicated is more to blame or which of them began the quarrel. Each who engages in it violates the law, each is bound to abstain from quarrelling, chiding, or bawling in the sacred place. Therefore, as Blackstone (*Commentaries*, iv. 146) says, 'more quarrelsome words, which are neither an affray nor an offence in any other place, are penal here.'

Churchwardens, however, and also constables may, for the purpose of maintaining order during Divine service, eject disturbers; and churchwardens may take off a person's hat if, on being asked, he refuses to remove it; and, it has been said, may whip boys who play in church during or immediately before service. But such action might be attended with awkward consequences in these days (*Burton v. Henson* [1843], 10 M. & W. 108; *Worth v. Torrington* [1845], 13 M. & W. 761; the Church of England canons of 1004, Nos. 19, 26, and 111 may also be consulted). It has, however, been decided that a churchwarden has no right forcibly to prevent an inhabitant from entering the church for the purpose of attending service, on the ground that in his opinion there is no room (*Taylor v. Tinson* [1898], 20 Q.B.D. 671).

2. *Ethical*.—From the ethical point of view there may be considerable differences of opinion on the question, Is bawling, that is, the disturbance of other people's worship, under any circumstances justifiable? The answer will depend largely on the view taken of the ethical standard of right and wrong. Those who think that the law of the particular country is the only standard, and must be obeyed, can easily answer this question. The laws of many civilized countries now protect all public worship from disturbance and all ministers

of religion from molestation, and the answer in those countries would be—No.

Those who find the will of the Deity expressed in the Bible, and regard this as the ultimate standard, have a more difficult task. It is undoubted that many instances of 'bawling' are commended in Holy Writ. For example, there is the case of Moses, who at a 'feast to the Lord' (Ex. 32) took the golden calf which the Israelites had made, and burnt it in the fire, and ground it to powder and strewed it upon the water, and made the children of Israel to drink of it (v. 25). Further OT examples are numerous—the destruction of the high places and the altars of the priests of Baal at various times; and of the brazen serpent by king Hezekiah. It is true these cases raise points as to the rights of heads of States. But from the abstract point of view they involve questions of sacrilege and bawling.

To come to the NT, we may mention (with all reverence) the action of Jesus Christ, who went into the temple of God and cast out all them that sold and bought there, overthrowing the tables of the money-changers and of them that sold doves. These people were in the house of God by lawful authority; the doves were no doubt required for sacrifice. Our Lord's reason was founded on the law: 'It is written,' He said, 'my house shall be called the house of prayer; but ye have made it a den of thieves.' Such a plea would not be admitted in a modern court of justice. It is a clear case of 'bawling' according to modern ideas.

The third point of view is that of people who think that the law of their particular Church or sect is the ultimate test. The Church of Rome has undoubtedly taught, and its adherents have acted on the opinion, that it is proper not only to disturb devotions which are contrary to its tenets, but also to molest and even to put to death ministers of religion and others who teach doctrines inconsistent with theirs. Members of religious bodies of this type would undoubtedly hold that 'bawling' at the command of their religious superiors is not only justifiable, but virtuous. Their sense of duty is of that kind which would burn the body to save the soul.

Lastly, there is the point of view of those who think that the ethical standard is a certain fitness, suitability, or propriety in actions as determined by our understanding or reason (Bain, *Mental and Moral Sciences*, p. 430) or, in Kant's words, that people should act in such a way that their conduct might be a law to all beings. It is conceived that all those who hold this view would approve of the laws of England practically as they now stand; that in, that, although a person may be constrained by an overpowering sense of duty to put down false religion, illegality, and wrong, he must not take the law into his own hands, and act as he disturbs, annoys, or injures his fellow-men. *Sic utere ut alienum non laedas*.

Laws on Bawling.—Most of the law-books deal with bawling, but not completely. Amongst others, B. Whitehead, *Church Law*, London 1898, and Lord Halebury, *Laws of England*, 1893, Stephens' *Laws relating to the Clergy*, London, 1898 (s.v. 'Bawling and Strolling'), is the fullest, but its date precludes the new statutes and cases. Archbold, *Criminal Law*, 1898, gives statutes and cases to that date. The encyclopedias also have short articles, the best being Laromere, *Grand Dict. Juris*, Paris, 1878, s.v. 'Bawling'. The ethical view is almost always ignored.

BENJAMIN WHITEHEAD.

BRAZIL.—The area enclosed by the confines of the present Republic of Brazil contains four principal ethnological stocks—the Arawak, the Carib, the Tupi-Guarani, and the Tapuya. But many of the sub-sections of these races overlap into territory outside the boundaries of Brazil proper, so that the information in this article must be taken as referring to the religious con-

ceptions of these four families as a whole, and not to those of them who are strictly confined to the territories of the República.

The status of religious conception among the native tribes of Brazil is not very far advanced in the scale of belief. It consists mainly of a crude anthropomorphism. Indeed, it may be said that the distinction between the natural and supernatural has not yet been realized by them. Many of the agencies by which they believe the universe to be ordered are of a human or quasi-human character. They appear to be, for the most part, incapable of the abstract thought required to conceive of an eternal spirit, and their ideas of a Supreme Being are of the faintest. The general theology of the Tupi, for example, though extremely hazy, appears to consist in the primal idea of a universal maternal agent. Fetish and animistic beliefs are also widely prevalent; and, as in nearly every religion of the lower cultus, the explicit (or comparatively explicit) belief is accompanied by an extraneous and confused body of semi-legendary superstition, such as a belief in demons and evil spirits of the forest, river, and mountain. These last vary in their characteristics according to locality, and in the course of generations several may have attained the distinction of godhood, if the name may be applied to entities few of whose attributes appear to be truly supernatural. It may be said that the religious conceptions of all four families mentioned above are on a similar level, and that certain beliefs are common to all.

1. The Arawaks.—The Arawak tribes are widely distributed over an area extending from the River Paraguay to the extreme north of the South American continent, and they have contributed largely to the formation of the existing stocks inhabiting the Antilles and Bahamas groups. It is generally admitted that they originated in the northern part of the continent; but their nomadic traits, and the ready manner in which they have intermingled with other stocks, have caused marked differentiation between the various tribes belonging to the family. At the present day most of them have ceased to be nomads, and are engaged mainly in hunting and fishing; certain of them, however, exist on an agricultural basis. Their principal divisions are: *Northern group*—Maypura, Atorai, Wapishana, and other insignificant confederacies; *Southern and Western Groups*—Piré of the Ucayali River, Minahas of the Juru River, Canamaris of the Puma River, Manao of the Rio Negro, Costenada, Vaurá, Mohinakua, Yanapiti (all of the River Xingu territory), and Guanaa, dwelling on the left bank of the Upper Paraguay.

(1) *Cosmogony*.—The Creation and Flood myths of the various Arawak tribes bear a close resemblance to those generally current throughout the South American continent; that is, they assume a twofold destruction of the world prior to its present condition. Thus the Arawaks of Guiana believe that Aimon Kondi scourged the world with fire, from which the survivors sought refuge in subterranean dwellings. Then a great flood followed, from which Marerowana and his followers saved themselves in a manna. Such a Flood-myth is practically identical with that of the Quiché of Guatemala, as found in the *Popol Vuh*, the sacred book of that people, and in the mythologies of many other American races. That man originated in a subterranean world is a belief widely disseminated among the Arawaks. There death was unknown, but the ruler of mankind chanced to discover the upper world, and, returning, warned his people that, though sunlight was there, so was death. Many, despite the warning, sought

the upper air; but multitudes are still believed to exist in bliss far below. Another Arawak version of the Creation asserts that the Great Spirit, having completed the heavens and earth, seated Himself on a huge silk-cotton tree by a river side, and cut off pieces of its bark, which He cast all around. Those which touched the water became fish, those which touched the air, birds; and those which alighted upon the earth became animals and men. The Arawaks of Guiana are almost wholly in a condition of totemism.

(2) *Theogony and ritual*.—The theogony of many of the Brazilian tribes clusters round the cult of the god Jurupari, which is best exemplified by that phase of it practiced by the Uapés. This cult is invested with the utmost secrecy, but has been fully examined by Condreau and Stradelli. The name Jurupari (*Juru-pari*) signifies 'Issued from the mouth of a river,' and the myth of his birth states that he was born of a virgin who possessed no sexual parts. She, however, conceived through swallowing a draught of *cachiri*, or fermented liquor, but could not be relieved of her offspring until, when bathing, she was bitten severely by a fish called 'Tarira,' when Jurupari was born. He grew speedily to manhood, and one day invited the men of the tribe to partake of a great bowl of *cachiri*; but the women refused their assistance in its manufacture, and thus gained his ill-will. Their children likewise incurred his enmity through eating the fruit of the *maca* tree, which was sacred to him; and for this offence he devoured them. Enraged at the loss of their children, the men of the tribe surrounded him, and cast him into a fire, from the cinders of which sprang the *passiúba* palm, which the Uapés believe to be his bones. Whilst it was still night, the men cut down this tree, and fashioned it into sacred instruments, which it is ordained the women of the tribe must never see. Should a woman of the Uapés set eyes upon any of the sacred symbols of Jurupari, she is at once poisoned.

This exclusion of women from the secret rites of the worship of Jurupari seems to point to some remote totemic origin, of which all but the mere reminiscence has been lost. There would appear to have been an ancient apprehension among the Uapés that Jurupari, who was regarded by them as more of a demigod than a god proper, might exercise upon the women of the tribe 'he drifts due dice.' Indeed, a myth exists which relates how one woman who had in her possession the sacred symbols was visited by Jurupari, and that the exclusion of the women from his worship dates from that event.

On the days upon which the worship of Jurupari is to be celebrated, the men proceed from the place of his adoration on a tour of the surrounding district, playing loudly upon pipes and flutes. Upon hearing the 'Jurupari music' the women shut themselves up in their houses, and do not emerge again until they are certain that all risk of their beholding the procession is over. The men then return to the headquarters of the priests, where the sacred symbols are exposed to view. These are the *macacourana* and the *passiúba*. The former is a black cloak without arms, descending to the middle of the body, and made of monkey hair interwoven with hair cut from the heads of virgins immediately after their arrival at puberty. The *passiúba* is a portion of the palm-tree of that species, about the height of a man, and some ten centimetres in diameter. By a device consisting of holes bored in the part of the tree beneath the foliage, its leaves are made to tremble by the breath of the priest who evokes it.

The principal religious ceremony in the worship of Jurupari is the *Dabucuri*, or initiation of the young men. This occurs six times in the year, as follows: the *assabi* on Jan. 1; the *ucupai* on Feb. 2; the *mirá* on March 2; the *paúda* on May 4; the *umari* on July 5; and the *uiga* on Nov. 6. Of all these indigenous fruits the Indians make intoxicating beverages. These are freely

partaken of in the accompanying revels, which are of the most riotous description. On the day of the festival those who have arrived at manhood are painted in black and red. They chant mournful melodies, whilst the *pagés*, or priests, join them in marriage to women of the tribe, who are then sent into the forest. Three men in barbaric costumes then carry in the *pariaba*, and several Indians disguised as Jurupari dress in the macacurus and symbolize the god's myth. The *pariaba* horn is then sounded, and the women return. Mutual flagellations commence, and the proceedings degenerate into a saturnalia. Jurupari is invited, but replies through the mouth of the *pagé* that he dare not be present, as, if he were to have relations with a woman, he would 'be changed into a serpent.'

The demiurgic nature of Jurupari is indicated by his relative position to Tupan, a primitive deity common to many Brazilian tribes. The Tupan of the Indians of the period immediately subsequent to the discovery of Brazil was by no means a beneficent deity, but typified the thunder, or any agency terrible or majestic. The first missionaries in the southern part of Brazil identified Tupan with God the Father, and the Christian reminiscences which we discover in the Jurupari cult doubtless had their origin in the old missionary idea of Tupan. The *pagés* differ regarding the identity of Tupan. Some regard him as a species of All-father, whilst others construct a vague hierarchy from Jurupari the Terrible, the Tupan of the Indians ('the Good'), and the Tupan of the Whites ('the Mighty'). Jurupari is not at strife with Tupan, but rather supplementary to him; for whereas the former has a local and precise significance, that of Tupan is vague and general. Tupan, it is said, created Jurupari 'for evil.' When he visits the earth, Jurupari is always his guide. Jurupari dwells with Tupan in heaven; and if in life the men of the Uapés have honoured the cult of Jurupari, they go to dwell with him after death. If they have not done so, they perish on the long road from earth to heaven. The women who behold the sacred symbols go to Bichu, a place inhabited by inferior spirits—a species of purgatory; but if they have not thus offended, they go to the heaven of Jurupari. Tribes akin to the Uapés believe that those women who see the symbols are changed at death into serpents or crocodiles. In the heaven of Jurupari the dead hunt, fish, drink *ocaeri*, and make sacred symbols. Grief and ennui are unknown. Those men who are lost on the route finally arrive at a hell, a badly-defined, shadowy extension of earth, where they continue the terrestrial life.

The Arawaks have a wholesome dread of evil spirits and forest-giants, which they designate *canachamar*. They have also a Jurupari of the Forest, an evil and malignant being, who, however, appears to bear no relation to the demiurge of the same name.

(3) *Priesthood*.—Among the Uapés the sacerdotal caste of the *pagés*, or priests, is strongly organized in a hierarchy, and is subdivided into the *waruwa*, or adepts, the *acua*, or arch-priests, and the *mirim*, or neophytes, who are very numerous. The secret of their organization is little known and well guarded. It is, in fact, a species of freemasonry, and candidates are initiated into the several degrees by similar processes. The *pagés* are also doctors, but, above all, exorcists. They possess magical formulae, which vary with each tribe. Certain *pagés* act as mediums to demons whom they profess to have in their service, and others undertake invocation of the dead. The thoroughness with which they carry out their purely religious duties is remarkable. Even the

children are examined and interrogated by them in secret regarding the cult of Jurupari. In fact, the initiation of the layman into that cult lasts during the entire period of his life. Although the *pagés* resort to symbolism, they are not fetish-worshippers, and distinguish strongly between the symbol and the being it symbolises. The macacurus is not Jurupari, they say. It is his 'figure' (*vaugawa*). The Guaycurús of Paraguay possess a similar religious order, whom they call *Vanagenatá*, and who act principally as exorcists of the evil in man, which they designate *sauega giga*. They believe that the goat-sucker bird and the screaming vulture act as messengers from the dead to the priest, between whom and the deceased persons of the tribe there is frequent communication. They also practice exorcism by fumigation. The *danham* which the *pagés* of the Parí profess was in all probability communicated to them by European missionaries (Spix and Martins).

a. *The Caribs*.—The Caribs, one of the first American races to come under the notice of the European discoverers, were until recently supposed to be confined to Venezuela, Guiana, and the Antilles; but von den Steinen met with tribes cognate to them in speech and physiological characteristics in the very heart of Brazil—the Bakairi and Nahuquas of the Upper Xingu, which he regarded as the Carib cradle-land. They were, *par excellence*, the maritime race of America, and in their great sea-canoes attended their piratical voyages to Cuba and Haiti, and permanently occupied some of the Lesser Antilles. On the mainland they were in possession of the shore west of the mouth of the Orinoco, nearly to the Cordilleras. From their name is derived that of 'cannibal,' owing to their custom of eating human flesh. Most of the present-day Caribs are nominally Christians.

(1) *Mythology*.—The Caribs of the Antilles regarded the earth, which they called *Mama Nono*, as 'the good mother from which all things come.' Their mythological ideas corresponded with their degree of civilization, which was extremely primitive. The first ancestor of the Caribs created his offspring by sowing the soil with stones, or with the fruit of the *Maaritia* palm, which sprouted forth into men and women. They believed that a multiplicity of souls inhabited one body, and that, wherever they might detect a pulsation, a soul was present. All these, however, were subordinate to one principal spirit enthroned in the heart, which alone would be transported to the skies at death (anon. *Voyage à la Louisiane fait en 1780*). The seat of the deceased was named by them *Huaya Ku*, the Mansion of the Sun, where, as in the Mexican paradise, the barbaric idea of bliss was to be attained. With the Caribs of the mainland, some shadowy belief in resurrection seems to have obtained, as they were most punctilious in preserving the bones of their ancestors, which, after having cleaned, bleached, and painted them, they kept in a wicker basket full of spices suspended from the doors of their dwellings.

They possessed a culture-hero, Tamu (Grand-father), who was also known as 'Old Man of the Sky.' He appears to have been almost identical with the Nahuatlac Quetzalcoatl, the Quiché Gucumatz, and the Mayan Cuculcan, in that he was of light complexion, came from the east, and, after having instructed the Caribs in agriculture and the primitive arts, disappeared in the direction whence he came. Brinton believed him to be identical with the Zumé of the Guarani of Paraguay, and Ehrenreich with the Kamu of the Arawaks (a culture-hero), and the Kahol of the Karayns. In the legend of the latter he dwelt

with their ancestors in the under world until a bird, the *Dicholophus cristatus*, by its call, led them to life and light in the upper world. With the Caribs the sun and moon shared sovereignty with the earth as the supreme beings of the Universe. It is almost certain that the god Harakán (from whose name is derived our word 'hurricane'), who figures in the Quiché Popol Vuh as 'the Heart of Heaven,' the supreme god, was of Carib origin, although it is possible that he may have been borrowed by the Caribs from the indigenous tribes of the Antilles; but von den Steinen gives the Carib form as *gêlo*, 'thunder,' whence Island Carib *tsouillon*.

(2) *Priesthood*.—Although the Carib religion was of an extremely primitive type, it was well organized by a hereditary class of shamans called *payes*, similar to the *payes* of the Arawaks, to whom the Caribs were probably ethnologically related. This class exercised unlimited power, and, besides performing the very elaborate religious rites appertaining to their worship, were, as with the Arawaks, exorcists.

3. *The Tupi-Guarani*.—This stock, so called to show the ethnic affinity existing between the Tupi of Brazil and the Guarani of Paraguay, originally advanced in a northerly direction from the River Plate region, and drove the Tapuyas from the coast lands, which it thenceforth occupied as a maritime people. It is now represented by tribes occupying various belts of country in a territory so vast as that between the rivers Maroni in French Guiana, to the north, and the Plata, to the south. In Guiana the principal divisions are the Oyampi and the Emerillons, in Brazil proper the various tribes of the Central Plateau, and in Paraguay the Guarani. These various tribes were at one time addicted to cannibalism, but large numbers have become converted to Christianity, although many still retain their ancient beliefs. They speak a dialect of the ancient Tupi language, called the *Língua Geral*, which was standardized by the early Portuguese missionaries for their own uses, and gradually became the general tongue of the Amazonian tribes. Tupi branches are also found in Argentina and Uruguay.

(1) *Cosmogony*.—A certain magician, Irin Magé, is credited by the Eastern Tupi with the creation of seas and rivers, and at his intervention Monan, the Maker or Begetter, withdrew the *tata*, or Divine fire, with which he had resolved to destroy the world. An early account (Hans Staden, 1550) states their belief in a destruction of their ancestors by a powerful supernatural enemy called Mair, who sent upon them an inundation, from which only a few were saved, by climbing trees and hiding in caves—a variant of the Popol Vuh legend. The same authority gives the names of three brothers—Krimen, Hermitan, and Coem—from whom they claimed descent; and the Guarani speak of four brothers, and give two of their names as Tupi and Guarani, parents of the tribes called after them respectively. These four brothers are identical with similar quartets in other American mythologies, and typify the cardinal points of the compass.

(2) *Theogony*.—The theogony of the Tupi is a simple nature-worship, although much confusion exists among authorities as to its constitutions. The Vicomte d'Itabaryana sees in Tupi belief the quality of dualism (a rare occurrence in American religions), and gives it as his opinion that Torn-shom-pak, the sun, stands for their principle of good, and Torn-gueket, the moon, for their evil principle. The latter is supposed to fall periodically and wreck the earth; and all baneful influences, such as thunders and floods, proceed from her. Magalhães (*O Selvagem*) is of opinion that

Tupi theogony rests on the primal idea that all created things have a mother or maker, who is responsible for the general scheme of animate and inanimate matter. There are, further, three superior deities, to whom are apportioned the making of the various natural families. These are Guarany, the sun, creator of all animals; Jacy, the moon, creator of plants; and Perudá or Rudá, the god of love, who promotes the reproduction of human beings. Each of these is assisted by inferior beings. Subordinate to the sun are Guirapara, who has charge of the birds; Anhangá, who protects the field game; Cad-pára, who protects the forest game; Uayará, who guards the flabes. Under Jacy are Saci Curatí (in South Brazil) Mhoitá, the fire-snake, who protects the country from fire; Urutá, the phantom-bird; and Curupira, the guardian of the forests. Subordinate to Rudá are Cairé, the full moon, and Catiti, the new moon. Each of these, in turn, has as many inferior assistants as the Indians admit classes; and these are served by as many beings as the Indians admit species, and so on, until every lake and river and kind of animal or plant has its protective genius or 'mother.' Brinton describes this polytheism as 'simple animistic nature-worship.' Though this may be said to apply to the Tupi race in general, its standards undoubtedly vary with locality; and this fact accounts for the seemingly widely differing accounts of Tupi theogony furnished by its several investigators.

With the Guarani, the southern branch of the Tupi, belief and worship appear largely to cluster round the figure of the god Zumbé, a culture-hero, probably identical with the Carib Taseu. He, like other American culture-heroes, 'came from the East'; but the Guarani, according to the myth, grew so tired of his sententious advice and constant patronage, that they tried to drive him away with arrows. These, however, he caught, and hurled back upon his tormentors, and, dividing the waters of a neighbouring river by his Divine power, he walked to the other bank dryshod, and disappeared from view. He indicated to the Guarani his intention of returning in order to gather them into towns, and rule them in peace. Zumbé is, of course, like the Mexican Quetzalcoatl, the Man of the Sun, the civilizing agent. He has been identified with Camé, an Antillean deity, and his worship is found under various guises throughout South America.

A less mild personage is Tupa or Tupan,* the god-in-chief of the Tupi proper of Brazil. The earliest notice of this god is that of the missionary Père d'Evreux, who directly compares him with God the Father. He alone of the four brothers survived the Flood, and became the highest divinity of the Tupi, ruler of the lightning and the storm, whose voice is the thunder. He is, indeed, the Tupan of the Uapen, who, although of Arawak stock, have been deeply influenced by Tupi and Carib beliefs. Anhangá, the protector of field game, is sometimes opposed to him as an evil principle; but it is vain to affect to discern dualism where the notion of divinity is so slight, and that of anthropomorphism so strong. In any case, it cannot be an ethical dualism, but merely the opportunist invention of the priestly caste (see remarks on American dualism in Brinton's *Myths of the New World* and Spence's *Popol Vuh*). There is not wanting evidence, however, that Tupa was also a 'culture-hero,' who latterly attained godhood. He is credited with teaching the Tupi the use of fire, the plough, and the cane, as well as with instructing them in agriculture.

(3) *Inferior spirits*.—Many of the Amazonian

* The name is derived by Teixeira (*Antropos* II. 220 L.) from *tupa* upa, 'Father of All.'

tribes of the Tapi have an elaborate system of myths clustering round the tortoise—a favourite figure in South American folklore. In these many inferior spirits are the principal actors, the most important of them being Kurapira, the wood-demon, and Ochara, the water-sprite. Paituna, 'the wonder-monkey,' is no simian, but the son of a woman belonging to a tribe of females with only one husband. He possesses marvellous powers, which he uses to discomfit his enemies in an amusing manner.

4. The Tapuyas.—The Tapuyas or Ges tribe are the oldest of the Brazilian races. They are best known perhaps by their name of Botocudos, from a lip-pag (*botocue*) which they wear. They are found on the eastern slopes of the Cordillera, from the peninsula of Guajira in the north to the borders of Chili, and in large numbers in Eastern Bolivia. Their principal divisions are the Karaya, the Kayapa, and the Bayas of the rivers Xingu and Araguaya. They have not as yet realized the distinction between the natural and the supernatural. The universe is kept together or disturbed, as the case may be, by human or quasi-human agencies. The Karaya Flood myth relates that the hostile demon Anatiwa originated the Deluge, and sent fish to pull down those who had taken flight to the hill Topirapé. The Ges attributed the re-building of the earth to the water-ben Saracura, which fetched earth to the hills, where those saved from the Flood congregated, so that the area of safety might be enlarged. The Karaya ancestral god, Kaboi, led his people from the under to the upper world by the cry of a bird. All these myths, though in circulation among the various tribes of the Tapuya family, have their counterparts in many other American mythologies. It cannot be discovered, however, whether or no the Tapuya tribes worship those 'deities' to whom they give the credit of creating the cosmos. Indeed, there is good reason to believe that they do not. 'They have,' says Brinton, 'no definite religious rites, but are careful to bury the dead, and have a belief that the spirit of the departed survives and wanders about at night (*Amer. Races*, p. 144). They are firm believers in metempsychosis, and the appeasement by mimicry of those vague powers who cause natural phenomena. Thus they shake a burning brand and shoot arrows at the sky to appease the powers of the storm. Semi-religious dances are common among them. They are, in fact, on the border-land between totemic practice and the anthropomorphism which generally succeeds it, as is proved by the circumstance that a sub-stock, the Tucano, take their name from the toucan bird which they adopted as the totem of their tribe.

LITERATURE.—4. THE ARAYAS: E. in Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana* (1893); Condron, *Recherches sur les Guyanes et l'Amazonie* (1898); Stradell, 'La légende dell' Iurupari' (*Del. de la am. pop.* [Ital.], 1899, pp. 105-110); Brett, *Legends and Myths of the Aboriginal Indians of British Guiana* (1905).—4. THE CARIBS: Karl von den Steinen, *Die Indianer Brasiliens* (1902); *Unter den Naturvölkern Central Brasiliens* (1904); Müller, *Amer. Urweltgeschichte* (1904), de la Borda, *Recherches des Caraïbes* (Paris, 1914).—4. THE TAPUYAS: Barbosa Rodrigues, *Reptário do Rio Juruá* (1875); 'Povos da Amazonia' (*Ann. d. Mus. nat. Rio*, 1880); Couto de Magalhães, *O Selvagem* (1874); Ouevara, *Hist. del Paraguay, Rio de la Plata y Pampa* (1880); d'Orbigny, *Le Monde des Amérindiens* (1880).—4. THE TAPUYAS: Ehrenreich, 'Über die Botocudos' in *SS*, 1887, 18. Kenna, *On the Botocudos* (1893). General works are Ehrenreich, *Beiträge zur Völkerkunde Brasiliens* (*Vierteljahrsschrift der Naturforschenden Ges. in Zürich*, 1877); *Die Kriem und Legenden der Süd Amer. Urwölter* (Stuttgart, 1888); and the several interesting but rather out of date works of C. F. F. von Martius.

LEWIS SPENCE.

BREAD.—See FOOD.

BREATH.—Breath consists of air alternately drawn in and expelled from the lungs, and constitutes a vital element in man's spiritual as well as in

his physical being. As a manifestation of existence, breath is frequently used, among many peoples, as synonymous with 'life,' 'spirit,' and 'soul.' The force of these several meanings becomes clear, for example, from such passages in the Bible as Gen. 2, 1 Co. 15, and from the various designations for 'breath,' 'spirit,' 'soul' in Hebrew (*ruach*, *nephesh*, *neshama*), Greek (*psyche*, *pné*), Latin (*animus*, *spiritus*), and Old Church Slavic (*duch*), 'breath,' 'spirit,' *duša*, 'soul'; cf. Lithuanian *dauose*, 'air'. This is equally true of the kindred designations in other languages, even in savage tongues (see Tylor, i. 433). The natural association, moreover, of the breath and breathing with the spiritual phenomenon of inspiration is seen in such a passage as Jo. 20, where Jesus breathed upon the disciples when imparting to them the gift of the Holy Spirit. Cf. also Job 4, 22, Is. 11, Hak. 27, and art. SOUL, SPIRIT.

In classic times, among the Greeks and Romans, there were current a number of well-recognized ideas (all of them perfectly natural) which show the wide-spread and normal association of breath and air as the vital principle. Philosophers started with the postulate that the soul was drawn into the body with the first breath at birth, and they sometimes made the kindred element, wind, a vital factor in generation (e.g. Chrysippus, cited by Plutarch, *de Stoic. Repugn.* xli. 301; also Dio Chrysostom, *Discourses* xli. 387; cf. also the *symposium* of Anth. Pal. x. 125. 4, the *convivium* of Hymn. Orph. xxviii. 22, and, in general, Lobosch, *Aglaophanes*, i. 753-764). In connexion with death, moreover, the Romans regarded it as a religious duty that the nearest relative should catch the last breath of the dying, at the moment when the vital spark was leaving the body, in order to ensure the continued existence of the spirit (see Vergil, *Aen.* iv. 684; Cic. *Verr.* ii. 5. 45; Ovid, *Metam.* xii. 494). A somewhat similar custom formerly existed among the Seminole Indians of Florida; and the fancy of the Tyrolese peasants saw the soul out-breathed like a little white cloud at death (cf. Tylor, l.c.). This receives still stronger exemplification among the Athapascan Tahkall, who bring breath into direct connexion with transmigration. When one is either dead or dying, the medicine-man lays his hands on the breast of the individual in question, and then places them on the head of a kinsman of the dead or moribund. The medicine-man now breathes through the hands thus imposed, and the next child born to the kinsman of the dead man is held to have received the soul of the deceased, whose rank and name he assumes (Waitz, *Anthropologie*, iii. 195). Among some of the Tupi-Guarani tribes of South America, medicine-men frequently endeavour to effect cures by breathing on the diseased or injured part, and at certain ceremonies they blow tobacco smoke on the warriors, saying, 'Receive the spirit of bravery, wherewith ye conquer your foes' (ib. p. 419).

None of the nations of the world, however, paid so marked attention both to the physical side of breathing and to the psychical phenomena connected with it as did the early Hindus. By them breathing was regarded as one of the *saṁskāra*, and the regulation of respiration in connexion with ascetic and ritual practices was of paramount importance; nor has the art disappeared in India to-day. In early times, as shown by the philosophic treatises of the Upanishads, careful observers, who were imbued with the idea of the importance of controlling the vital breath, had faithfully counted the normal number of respirations per diem, and found the average to be 22,036 inhalations and exhalations (*Aṣṭādvādśa Upanishad*, 23), or 21,008 (*Harsha Upanishad*, 4), a round 21,000

(*Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha*, p. 178, 4), or again 21,000 (Rāmānjan in his notes on *Maitrīyoga Upaniṣad*, vi. 1); see Deussen, *Sechshundert Upaniṣads*, pp. 656 n. 4, 675 n. 2; Ewing, 'Hindu Conception of the Functions of Breath,' in *JAOS*, xxii. 284. This calculation (about 16.9 respirations per minute) answers well to the modern computations made by Western scientists, who estimate the normal breath of the healthy adult to be between 16 and 20 respirations a minute. The meditative calm and the unsurpassed self-control of the Hindu ascetic, it must be remembered, would tend to reduce the frequency of respiration, and thus justify the lower figure as claimed.

Hindu devotees and philosophers not only made these statistical observations of respiration in connexion with their religious practices and their recluse life of self-abnegation, but they also distinguished various phases of the breath-element, and assigned a particular function to each. The spiritual and religious aspect of breath is to be recognised as early as the Vedas and Brāhmaṇas, but it reaches its full development in the Upaniṣads, where it assumes a paramount place.

In Sanskrit the cardinal words relating to breath and breathing are all derivatives of the root *an*, 'breathes,' 'respire' (cognate with Gr. *ἀνέω*, Lat. *animo*, Goth. *an-an*). The principal word for 'breath' in general is the derivative *prāṇa* (from *an* with prefix *prā*). This word heads the fivefold list (sometimes known as the *prāṇa*-series), consisting of *prāṇa*, *apāna*, *vyāna*, *udāna*, and *śāśana*, under which the early Hindu physiological and psychological views grouped breath in its various functions.

Much attention has been devoted to studying this fivefold series of *prāṇa*, *apāna*, *vyāna*, *udāna*, *śāśana*. The most thorough of the Western investigations of the subject are those by Deussen and especially Ewing, in the works alluded to already, and quoted with full titles at the end of this article. So painstaking and exhaustive an examination as that made by Ewing (*op. cit.* 230-275, 306) proves that the first member of the series, *prāṇa*, breath in general, designates either the double process of respiration or, more particularly, 'in-breathing,' 'inhalation,' as contrasted with 'out-breathing,' which is designated more especially by *apāna*, 'exhalation,' 'expiration.' These two words, *prāṇa* and *apāna*, occur very often together (frequently united in a *dvandva*-compound), and are used to denote the composite act of respiration. This very frequency of occurrence has caused their common long *a* (which is etymologically correct in composition of the vocalic prefixes *prā*, *apā*, with *an*) to be assumed analogically by the other three members of the group (in which the long *a* is not authorised by composition of the consonantal prefixes *vy*, *ud*, *śāś*, with *an*). As to the meanings assigned, it should be noted, however, that Deussen maintains that *prāṇa* sometimes signifies 'expiration' (*Aushauch*), and *apāna*, 'inspiration' (*Einhauch*); see his *Allgem. Gesch. d. Philos.* i. i. 294-306, i. ii. 348-352, i. iii. 69-72, 441, 492, 605, 627, 649, and his *Das System des Vedānta*, 350-354. Ewing (*op. cit.* 292) strongly combats the point. His own investigations, moreover (*op. cit.* 276-278), tend to show that *apāna* denotes not only 'out-breathing,' but also the physiological breath-functions of that part of the body below the navel.

The term *vyāna*, lit. 'breathing apart,' appears to denote a permeating or abiding breath-factor which forms a sort of connecting link between *prāṇa* and *apāna*, though separate from them, and occupies also the interval between respirations (see Ewing, *op. cit.* 277-303). Deussen's rendering of the word is 'interpiration' (*Zwischenhauch*). The other two terms, *udāna* and *śāśana*, are less

frequent in occurrence and more obscure in significance. They seem to have to do with the function of breath in connexion with digestion. Deussen's renderings are 'up-breathing' (*Aufhauch*) and 'all-breathing' (*Allhauch*); see his *Philos. of the Upaniṣads*, 279-280. Ewing's various allusions to these last two breath-elements of the *prāṇa*-series (*op. cit.* 280-287) should be compared.

In modern times the Hindu yogi-ascetics and certain of the advanced native thinkers of India still look upon breathing as a science to be cultivated under competent teachers. The practice of appropriately regulated breathing, they maintain, affects not only the vital activity, but also the mental activity, and produces corresponding psychic results. The complete control of the vital breaths, even to suspending the breath for a considerable length of time, brings with it a mastery over all the forces that govern both mind and body. For some of the claims still made by living exponents of these views, reference may be made to the writings of Rāma Prasad and the Swami Abhedānanda, cited below.

LITERATURE. The full titles of the chief works alluded to in this art. are: Ewing, 'The Hindu Conception of the Functions of Breath—a Study in Early Hindu Psycho-physics,' in *JAOS*, xlii. 249-306, New Haven, 1901; Deussen, *Allgem. Gesch. der Philos.* i. (3 parts), Leipzig, 1894-1904, his *Sechshundert Upaniṣads*, Leipzig, 1899; his *Das System des Vedānta*, 306-308, Leipzig, 1904, and *The Philosophy of the Upaniṣads* (Eng. tr. by Geden pp. 274-284, Edinburgh, 1906); Tylor, *Primitive Culture* i. 431-432, London, 1871 (1903); Lobeck, *Asiaticum*, Königsberg, 1839; Waits, *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*, iii., Leipzig, 1893; Rāma Prasad, *Nature's Finer Forces* (Science of Breath), Bombay, 1900; Abhedānanda, *How to be a Yogi* (Science of Breathing), pp. 128-160, New York, 1902.

A. V. WILLIAMS JACOBSON.

BRETHREN OF THE COMMON LIFE.—

1. Founders.—The Brethren of the Common Life represent one of the most successful of the many efforts made during the Middle Ages for the revival of piety. Some of their external arrangements were similar to those of the Beghards and Beguines, but their organization was more closely connected with the system and discipline of the Church, as was intended by their founders, Gerard Groot and his chief disciple, Florentius. Gerard (1340-1384) was the son of Werner Groot, a wealthy citizen and magistrate of Deventer. He took his degree at the University of Paris, acquiring a considerable reputation for talent and attainments, and then settled at Cologne, which had long been a celebrated seat of learning, and subsequently became a university town. Here he combined the pursuit of study with worldly amusements, and became very popular among his associates. Converted by the efforts and prayers of a former friend, named Henry Kalkar, the prior of a Carthusian monastery, he completely changed his mode of life. Throwing off his elegant clothes, he assumed the simplest and humblest dress, while for his inward improvement he withdrew for three years into a Carthusian monastery, where he spent his time in meditation and self-discipline. He also visited the saintly Raynbroeck, prior of the monastery of Grinthal, to whose spiritual influence he owed much of the progress of his soul. After five years he came forth as an evangelizing preacher of great force and persuasiveness, full of zeal for the revival of truly spiritual religion among the people at large, and anxious for the reform of the monks and clergy. He was ordained deacon, but never regarded himself as worthy of the priesthood. For three years and a half he went about preaching in Holland and the Netherlands, with the result that he drew many souls out of worldliness and sin and led them to holiness of life. His success, and his severe condemnation of the laxity of the clergy, however deserved, led to opposition to his preaching; and the Bishop of Utrecht was persuaded to

alliance him, by withdrawing licenses to preach from deacons. An appeal was made to the Pope, but it is uncertain whether this was successful, for Groot died soon after, in his 44th year. He was prematurely cut off by the plague, caught while visiting a sick friend. But he had had time, with the help of his foremost disciple, Florentius, to plan arrangements for confirming his converts in Christian ways. These two good men sought to establish Brotherhoods and Sisterhoods, in which those who had been rescued from worldliness might find refuge, and they decided on the foundation of some monasteries which might serve as a support and means of guidance to the inmates of the Houses, and might also offer a model of monastic reformation. The movement received the name of the 'moderna devotie.' Groot had some years before his death given over his own spacious house to the town authorities of Deventer as an abode for widows and maidens who should live together in piety and good works. The Brotherhoods were also begun at Deventer, while the first monastery was established at Windesheim. It was Augustinian, and became the centre of several new and many reformed monasteries. The next was founded on Mount St. Agnes, near Zwolle. A brother of Thomas à Kempis was the first prior of the latter, and Thomas himself, after his education at Deventer, spent his life in it as a monk.

2. *Regulations.*—In common with all pious persons in the medieval Church, Groot regarded the career of the monastic regulars as the highest; but his societies were intended as a link between the monks and the people, and his Brotherhoods and Sisterhoods formed a kind of modified monasticism without any vows. Their members, living a common life in their respective houses, were to work for their maintenance, to give what they could save to the poor and sick, and to interest themselves in the religious teaching of the young. The members of a Brotherhood were drawn from various classes. The educated copied books, as was done in monasteries, and, later on, attended to printing them, while those who had been brought up to handicrafts practised these for the benefit of the House. The hours of prayer and of attendance at Mass were diligently observed. There were several priests in each house, besides the lay members. The head of the community was called 'rector,' and implicit obedience to him was required. Under him was the 'procurator,' who was general manager. Various offices, such as those of librarian, sacristan, warden of the infirmary, down to the humbler ones of tailor, baker, and cook, were distributed among the Brethren. Besides being called *Fratres vite communis*, the brothers acquired several other appellations, such as *Fratres bone voluntatis*, from their benevolence, and *Fratres cucullati* from their cap or head-dress, and they were often called Lollards by their enemies, though they had no real connexion with that sect. Owing to their educational labours, they also acquired the designation of *Fratres Hieronymi*, 'Brothers of St. Jerome,' who was regarded as a patron of learning. The dress of the Brothers was black or grey; for priests and clerics it went down to the feet, for lay brethren to the knee; and a black cap was worn on the head. The under garment was washed every month in summer, every two months in winter. On entrance into the society each man could deal with his property as he liked; but if he once gave it over to the House, he could not withdraw it in the event of his leaving. The Brothers rose at half-past three in the morning, and went to bed at nine in the evening. During the day an interval was allowed for repose. Dinner was at ten o'clock, supper at five. At meals the Scriptures or the *Lives* of the

Saints were read, the Brothers taking a week each, from the seniors downwards. Meat might be eaten on Sundays and other days except Fridays and fast days. Their drink was one little mug of beer of the small size out of which wine was usually drunk (Dumbar, *Analecta*, i. 14). Many members of the society injured themselves by excessive fasting, in a degree not required by the rules. Constant industry, according to the previous training of each man, was incalculable; and where there was a farm or garden, outdoor labour was required. All these activities of the Brothers contrasted favourably with the bagging habits of the friars, who were mostly living in idleness, and became in consequence the bitter enemies of the Brothers; while the domestic work of the Sisterhoods and their instruction of girls made them appear to great advantage as compared with the degenerate nuns. It might well be supposed that those hard-working and devout societies would have been commended of all men, but the friars succeeded in raising much opposition against them, while among the people at large the reverence which was felt for the regular and long-established monastic orders, bound by lifelong vows, was not bestowed upon the more secular system of the new society, till eventually they were known by their fruits and became respected for their good deeds. It was doubtless better for them not to be thought much of, at any rate at first, as they were thereby guarded from the temptation to pride which beset the old religious orders. The opposition, however, was carried to the verge of persecution, for at the Council of Constance a Dominican named Grabow accused the Brethren of the Common Life, and maintained that it was a mortal sin to form a community without the vows of poverty, obedience, and chastity. They were, however, defended by their friends and supporters, the Windesheim monks, and also by Gerson. The Council condemned Grabow, and offered him the choice of retraction or the stake. Several Popes also had the good sense to support the Brotherhoods and Sisterhoods by their rescripts.

3. *Influence on education.*—The eventual estimation of the Brothers among the people at large was mainly promoted by their devoted efforts on behalf of the religious education of boys. At their first centre, Deventer, they boarded many of the scholars who attended the noted school already existing there, or obtained hospitality for them among devout widows or benevolent burghers. Their religious teaching was mainly given in their Houses, but some of their scholars rose to be assistant teachers, or 'lectors,' in the school, and thus their work and influence became blended with the secular parts of education. Similar arrangements were made in the many other towns to which the educational work of the Brotherhoods rapidly extended. There was no opposition in those days to the religious side of education. On the contrary, the authorities of towns in Holland and Germany frequently invited the help of the Brothers, and induced members of their Society to settle in their midst, providing houses for them. In some places they were entrusted with the re-organization of the schools. Distinguished and pious schoolmasters, such as Hegius at Deventer and John Cole at Zwolle, were in close touch with the Brothers, and there can be no doubt that not a few of the latter became teachers of classics as well as of religion. When the culture brought in by the Renaissance, with its revived study of Greek, extended to Germany, through the energy of Rudolph Agricola and others, it gradually won over members of the Brotherhoods, and added thereby to the effectiveness of their educational labours. In some of the schools there were more

than a thousand scholars, and the spectacle of devoted men giving their best energies to bringing up the rising generation in true religion and sound learning gave new hope to all who had the good of their country at heart. At the same time it must be admitted that it was the aim of the Brothers not only to produce good laymen and priests, but also to recruit the monasteries with more earnest novices; and Erasmus complains that they unduly pressed their youths to enter monastic life. This was certainly not the case with Florentius, but it may have been so later on; and we must remember that Erasmus was induced by the desire of his guardians to become a monk, because they had wasted his patrimony, so that he was somewhat prejudiced.

It has been sometimes stated that the Brothers founded schools of their own, but this is a mistake; for instance, Erasmus was not educated in schools belonging to them, as has been usually alleged. He attended the public schools, while boarding with the Brothers and receiving religious teaching from them. Their educational labours continued for about a hundred and fifty years, when most of the schools in which they had taught came under the influence of the Jesuits. The Lutheran Reformation occasioned the Roman Catholic movement that has been called the Counter-Reformation. This was led mainly by the Jesuits, and their pushing and aggressive methods eventually superseded the more modest and quiet work that the societies founded by Groot and Florentius had carried on.

In connection with the name of Florentius Radwijn (1500-1600), we have to notice the boyhood of Thomas à Kempis (1380-1471) before his entrance upon the life of a monk in the Augustinian monastery of Mount St. Agnes. Very early in life Thomas was sent to the school of Deventer, and was brought into connection with the saintly Florentius, who had, for the sake of being near Gerard Groot, given up higher ecclesiastical emoluments to become one of the Flores of the collegiate Church of St. Leuwin. He was, after Gerard's death, the recognized leader of the eclectics that Groot had been establishing, till he did not become at first the Rector of the House at Deventer. He had accepted that office by the time à Kempis applied for admission, and his winning and gracious manner and a natural dignity of bearing had given him a predominant influence for good. He befriended the youthful à Kempis and placed him with a devout widow, receiving him for a part of the time into his own house. It is not too much to say that we owe the spiritual qualifications written by à Kempis to the effect on his early life of the saintly character of Florentius. Among many such writings the *Imitatio Christi* is usually included, and it, as we fully believe, full authority of that well-known book of devotion is rightly ascribed to him, the debt we owe to the sacred teacher of his early days can hardly be over-rated. Thomas himself has commemorated Groot and Florentius and some of the early Brethren in a remarkable work, which has long been bound up with his other writings in the edition of Bonnalus. In this he gives most interesting details of his spiritual Father and Rector, as well as of other members of the House. A short sketch of a youth of his own age, named Arnold of Schoonhoven, who was his rival of piety, shows these valuable memoirs. They are also interesting as affording one among many evidences of the *imitatio* having been suggested by à Kempis. Dr. Hirsche, in his *Kritisch-historische Einleitung*, brings forward a number of quotations to show the similarity of many expressions in these biographies to those in the *Imitatio*. And it may be added that the lives of the founders and brothers so recorded afford an impressive realization of the precepts of that manual of devotion, and exhibit a spirit of piety which belongs to the same line of religious thought. It is scarcely too much to say that the *Imitatio* cannot be fully understood without a perusal of these records.

4. Doctrines.—The remarks just made bring us to the question as to the doctrinal limitations of the Brothers and their kindred monks. Groot was a firm adherent of all the dogmas of the Roman Church, and had even been called *maius horrorem*, 'the hammer of heretics.' When the saintly Ruysbroeck expressed himself, as Groot thought, with too great freedom in the direction of mysticism, he opposed his sentiments. Yet if we take the word 'mysticism,' which may be used in many senses, as meaning the personal and inward realization of spiritual truth imparted by the Holy Ghost as contrasted with a more outward and

formal religion, we shall find it present in the teaching of Groot and Florentius and in that of à Kempis; and some of the Windesheim monks were even more definitely mystics. Yet none of the earlier Brothers would have allowed himself to question any belief that was a part of the Papal system. And those writers are wrong who have maintained that the Brethren of the Common Life were 'Reformers before the Reformation.' In one respect, indeed, they were reformers, but they never intended to be so in the sense that we associate with Protestantism. This point was their advocacy of encouraging the laity to read the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue; but they did so without any doubt occurring to them as to the Bible being fully consonant with Roman doctrine. They wished laymen to study Holy Scripture for their personal improvement, and frequently gave informal addresses to them in their houses on passages of the Bible, and especially on those that bore on practical duty. Among the Brothers at Deventer, Gerard Zorholt, one of the librarians, was the strongest advocate of translations of Holy Writ and of prayers being supplied to the lay folk in the vernacular; and his arguments are well worthy of study in the treatises that he put forth, and which still exist.

When, later on, the Lutheran Reformation began to make progress, the Brethren of the Common Life were found, as was natural, on the side of the Papacy; yet in time the new doctrines made their way into some of the Houses, and individual members were won over by them. After a while several of the Brother-houses went over entirely to the Reformed faith, and that at Wesel received the warm approbation of Luther himself.

The welcome given in many towns to the greater freedom of doctrine promised by the Reformers damaged the continuance of Brother-houses in which the Roman teaching was still maintained; but a few here and there survived for a long time; and while the educational work passed either to the Protestants or to the Jesuits, some Brother-houses lingered on till suppressed by Napoleon Bonaparte. The Sister-houses, begun in the first instance by Groot himself at Deventer, became widely extended, and accomplished good work in the training of girls, as well as in copying books, in miniature painting, and in the humbler offices of household duty. The Superior was usually called 'Martha,' and one of the most impressive of the treatises of Thomas à Kempis is an encomium on the duties and influence of a woman who thus cares in practical matters for the welfare of the devout. There was usually a priest attached to the Sister-houses who acted as ruler and confessor. Among the most remarkable of the latter was Brinkerink, who ruled Groot's house for women at Deventer. Some of his addresses to the Sisters still exist, and are full of helpful words of encouragement for the spiritual life. A good many of the Sisters eventually joined Augustinian nunneries.

It has been stated that the monasteries of Windesheim and St. Agnes, and others afterwards established, were a part of Groot's scheme, and remained in close sympathy with the Brothers. A *Chronicle of Windesheim*, by Busch, a contemporary of à Kempis, contains many references to Groot and Florentius, and extracts from their letters, which show that the spiritual teaching in both these parts of Groot's system was identical, and that Florentius, when Rector of the House at Deventer, exercised the greatest care as to recommending Brothers to take the vows at Windesheim, or elsewhere, fully knowing the danger it had been to monasteries to receive persons who had no adequate vocation for lifelong devotion. The *Chronicle of Mount St. Agnes* was written during

his life by a Kempis, and a touching notice of his death is added at the close by another hand.

LITERATURE.—I. ORIGINAL SOURCES.—The most readily available of these are the lives of Gerard, Florinus, and others, by Thomas à Kempis, in the editions by Summaeus, in the 17th cent., of the works of à Kempis (earlier editions: *Opera* of Silvius, Nuremberg 1604, and à Kempis *opera*, Antwerp, 1674; *Eng* in *The Founders of the New Devotion*, by J. P. Arthur, Lond. 1805), also Thomas à Kempis, *Christicum consensuum capitulum Montis S. Agnetis* (*Eng* in *Chronicle of Mount S. Agnes*, by J. P. Arthur, Lond. 1906-1908.) ; Hieronius, *Christicum Windeshemmen*, Antwerp, 1621, re-edited by Karl Grube, with the *Laber de reformatione monasteriorum*, Halle, 1898 (an indispensable source for the study of Gerard Grond, and the Brothers and monks influenced by him), and a set of Gerard Terbult's *Statuta vir* and *Monu quædam*, by J. P. Arthur, London, 1908.

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& HARVEY GIBB

BRETHREN OF THE FREE SPIRIT.—

This name has been given to mystic-panteists who emerged in the 13th cent., were associated with different sects such as the Beghards, and continued generation after generation down to the 16th century. Monheim found, as he thought, their characteristic doctrines in writings of the 11th cent.; but it is safer to connect the origin of the Brethren with a speculative movement of the 12th century. At the beginning of that century there was a philosophical revival, which was quickened by Aristotelianism mixed with Neo-Platonism and introduced to the West in an Arabic dress. Under its influence David of Dinant indulged in speculations tending to pantheism; and at the same time Almaric of Bona, also affected by the Oriental Aristotelianism, set forth mystic doctrines which were accounted pantheistic and therefore dangerous to religion. At Paris in 1204, Almaric was charged with teaching 'quod nulli libet Christianus teneatur credere, esse unum membrum Christi, nec aliquem posse salvari, qui hoc non crederet.' On an appeal to Rome he was condemned; and it is evident, therefore, that his teaching must have had some meaning other than the mystical union of the believer with Christ, since it was judged to be heretical.

Thomas Aquinas, enumerating three errors regarding the being of God, distinguished between David of Dinant and Almaric:

¹ 'All enim dicunt deum esse principium formale omnium rerum, et haec dicitur fuisse opinio Abrahamaeorum. Sed veritas error fuit David de Dinaid, qui stultissime posuit deum esse materiam primam' (Summa, I, III, 6).

Though the men were both dead, a Council of Paris in 1900 condemned their works; and it was asserted that Almaric had inspired the dangerous doctrines of the Almaricists, as they were called. Among these doctrines this was set forth:

'Peter to Abraham inextricatus, Fides in Maria, Optimum
Sacrificium in nobis quotidia inextricatur—omnis unum, quia
quidquid est, est deus.'

Further, the Almaricians were accused of teaching that now, in the time of the Spirit, salvation in no way depends on the sacraments of the Church.

and that what are accounted sins of the flesh are not sins if done through love. It was not likely that these men would escape the censure and punishment of the Church, and a persecution directed against heretics was begun in Paris in 1210, and in 1212 was raging in Strasbourg. Among those who perished at Strasbourg were *Ortliobones*, a name derived from Ortlieb, whose teaching marked him as a follower of Almaric.

These men were hardly entitled to be considered speculative thinkers, but none the less there were elements of pantheism and mysticism in their principles. They maintained that the uncreated universe is eternal, and that, while there is no resurrection of the body, immortality is for all. The Trinity was represented in some mystic fashion by three members of their community. They were not charged with carnal practices, but they round ecclesiastical opposition by repudiating the sacraments and ordinances of the Church as unnecessary for men united with God. In 1215, at the fourth Lateran Council, the theories of Almaric were once more condemned, and condemned with the full authority of the Church. The mystic-pantheistic doctrines set forth by the Almaricans were not crushed, however, by the persecution of 1210, by the Lateran decree, or by a persecution which took place in 1216, as they were wide-spread, and had reached even the Waldenses, in the middle of the century, when they were attacked by Albertus Magnus. The opposition of Albertus did not stay the progress of these doctrines, and they began to affect the Beguines and Beghards, who, though they had long enjoyed the blessing of the Church, were exciting suspicion by their fanatical denunciation of poverty. In these communities, prophets or teachers appeared who taught that God could best be served in freedom of spirit, and they and their converts were known as 'Brethren of the Free Spirit.' The orthodox Debarths and Beguines suffered from the evil reputation of the heretics, and the Franciscan spirituals, often confused with the Beghards, suffered in the same way.

It is difficult to determine the circumstances under which the name of 'Brother of the Free Spirit' was adopted or applied, and also to discover the author of the phrase. Lea in his *History of the Inquisition* (ii. 221) says:

'Even the orthodox Committee of Hahnemann (died c. 1800) argues that much is permitted to the saint which is forbidden to sinners, where is the spirit of God, there is liberty—have charity and do what thou pleasest. When the final word had come from heaven, it could not be limited to silence.'

In an episcopal letter of 1817, quoted by Glaser (*Lehrbuch*, III. vii. 60), the writer enumerated the errors of those

'quam vulgus Beghardus et Schwenkervanus amant, ipi vero et ipse se de aucta libertate spiritus et voluntatis perpetuam parvam fidem vel errorem tenent.'

The name, whatever its origin, was directly associated neither with pantheism nor mysticism, but with the liberty of which Comenius of Heisterbach wrote, and for which Pauline authority was claimed. Yet this liberty was asserted not as mere licence, but as the natural right of man with the Divine Spirit.

The logic of the doctrines of the Brethren is intelligible. God is what is, and man, being of Him, come from and return to Him. There is therefore neither purgatory nor hell, and the sacraments and ordinances of the Church are unneeded. As man is essentially Divine and is able through contemplation and withdrawal from things of sense to know himself united with God, he can in his freedom do what God does, and must act as God works in him. There is therefore for the free man neither virtue nor vice. God is all, and all is God, and all is His; and men are therefore free to take or lay their bread so that their

added between 1830 and 1832. At first they did not think of separating from the Churches around. This came as the result of their principles and practice, and when they increased in power and numbers. Darby visited Oxford in July 1830, where he met, amongst others, B. W. Newton and G. V. Wigram, both of whom came under his influence and power. A meeting was formed at Plymouth. Newton and other able men ministered there for years. From it the name 'Plymouth Brethren' was derived, while from Darby the name 'Darbyites' was received. Newton had a speculative mind, was grave and earnest, and became the most prominent leader at Plymouth. George Müller, brother in law to Groves, was the co-pastor with Henry Craik at Bethesda Chapel, Bristol. Both these and their congregation, in a measure, adopted the principles of the Brethren. A few brethren joined them, and one meeting was formed, but most Brethren now think this was a mistake. A gathering was formed at Rawlston Street, London, and meetings sprang up both in England and Ireland. Between 1832 and 1838 meetings to study prophecy were held in Lady Powercourt's mansion, Co. Wicklow. They were attended by eminent clergymen, and Darby, Bellett, and Wigram went to them, and took part in them.

From 1830 to 1835 the movement swept on. J. L. Harris, a clergyman, joined the ranks of the Brethren. He edited their first magazine, *The Christian Witness*, to which Darby, Bellett, Newton, S. P. Tregelles and other writers contributed. It set forth the doctrines of Brethrenism with vigour and freshness (1834-40). A tract depot was begun, from which issued a steady stream of tracts. The clergy became alarmed as several of their order joined the movement, which was at first, undoubtedly, a 'better-class' movement, containing lords, ladies, and officers not a few. The people were evangelized with great zeal; lay preaching was held to be the duty of all who had received grace and gift, and in the open air and in meeting-rooms the doctrines of Brethrenism were expounded. Separateness from the world was necessary; for the Lord was at hand, and every one must be ready to meet Him.

Groves went on a mission to Baghdad, and then laboured in India, with the result that many Anglo-Indians became disciples of the new faith. On returning to England, however, he found a stricter system of fellowship existing than when he left. He wrote to Darby protesting against this, but it was too late, for his own words to Bellett had raised a force which he could not now control.

Darby evangelized in Ireland, and visited Switzerland, where his success was phenomenal. The Evangelical Revival had taken place. He preached the Atonement of Christ, His Resurrection, Intercession, and Second Coming. He engaged in controversies with the Wesleyans and with Church leaders. Seventy companies of Brethren were gathered in Switzerland. He also visited France and Germany, where he gained many disciples. His labours extended, with intervals of visitations to England, several years. A reference to the first vol. of his *Letters* will show his great activity. Later, he devoted his attention to Germany, and translated the New Testament, and afterwards the Old, into German. G. Müller visited Germany in 1843. Ministering amongst the Baptists, he spread the tenets of the Brethren in the Fatherland.

Meanwhile, Newton remained at Plymouth, but, unlike Darby and others, never heartily adopted the doctrine of the Spirit's presence in the assembly, but set up what Tregelles called 'a modified

Presbyterianism,' which was self-elected, and confined the services of prayer, praise, teaching, and rule to himself and those associated with him at Plymouth.

This was to be the model for all meetings, and an effort was made to carry it out. He denied the immediate return of the Lord, teaching that certain events must take place before He did come. He discouraged brethren who held opposite views from ministering. His lectures, copied in manuscript, were circulated widely amongst a select few. J. L. Harris and others, helpless to combat this state of things, left Plymouth. It was at this time (1845) that Darby returned. He had borne with Newton's views on the Second Coming, but would not tolerate the setting aside of the Spirit's presence in the Church, for that Darby viewed as the re-establishment of the clerical system that the Brethren had left in the Churches around. Darby maintained that by Newton's clerical control the Spirit was displaced in the assembly. He protested against this, but Newton and his supporters would not yield. Darby and many others withdrew from communion, and, after waiting from March till December, they broke bread apart from the Newton party at Raleigh Street, Plymouth. Indignation against Darby was intense. He had broken the unity of the Brethren, and they, who had testified to unity, were now in disunion. Darby's contention was that he 'could not maintain union to support evil,' and that 'truth was more to him than friends, religious reputation, or unity.' Two years' controversy followed, in which the leaders took part. Charges against Newton's writings and his rule in the Plymouth assembly were interwoven with the main issue, viz. the 'Spirit's freedom to use whomsoever He pleased in the assembly while gathered to the Lord's name for worship and ministry.' This was what Darby and his followers contended for, and it was this that Newton and his associates resisted. Round this same question of clericalism many later disputes arose and caused divisions.

In 1847, Newton's opinions on the sufferings of Christ came to light. He had taught, amongst a select body of disciples, that our Lord, being a man and an Israelite, was born relatively under the curse of God, which rested on the human race generally, and on Israel specially, on account of their having broken the Law and rejected their Messiah; and that, from childhood to His baptism in Jordan, Christ was obnoxious to the wrath of God, but escaped much on account of His prayer and piety. When Newton's views became known, they were rejected by the mass of the Brethren, and many of his former supporters, such as Bolton, Batten, Dyer, and Clulow, abjured their errors, and confessed they had been under the delusion of Satan as to their doctrines, and in supporting Newton. Newton made a confession, which was considered insufficient, and withdrew his tracts, which he never re-issued, for re-consideration. He admitted that in expressions he was wrong, and that in one particular he had erred, viz. in contending that our Lord was under Adam's federal headship. The meeting at Ebrington Street, Plymouth, was broken up. Newton removed to London, modified his views considerably, and formed a church of which he became minister, having no fellowship with any other religious body. He wrote largely on Prophecy, and in his writings there are passages of great literary beauty. He died in 1860, aged 62, having outlived all his contemporaries.

It was Newton's teachings that caused the first division amongst Brethren, which took place at Bethesda in 1840. Müller and Craik refused to allow a congregational judgment on Newton's

tracts. Several who had sympathized with Newton's views, and two Brethren who had imbibed his teachings, were received by the Bethesda congregation. It is a moot point whether Müller and Craik knew of the views of those disciples of Newton who did not openly promulgate them. Their reception called forth from G. Alexander and sixty others a vigorous protest. Müller and Craik would not allow the congregation to judge and condemn Newton's tracts until it adopted a paper called 'The Letter of the Ten,' signed by themselves and eight other leaders, and to which some of Newton's sympathizers added their names. This paper committed the Church to a neutral position, and defined for years the ecclesiastical position of those afterwards called 'Open' Brethren. It became a document of discord, and a barrier to fellowship between the two great sections of the Brethren. Bethesda assembly adopted the paper, and retained the ministry of their pastors, who had threatened to resign unless this were done. To Darby, Wigram, Dorman, and others the position thus taken up was wrong, and they would not tolerate it. Darby was branded as a schismatic, and severely attacked. The result was that the dispute affected all the meetings throughout the land. Bethesda assembly, with its pastors, now took up the question. Seven meetings were held before the end of the year, as a result of which some of those who had supported Newton withdrew from fellowship, in order to relieve the Church from its dilemma. Two of these, on retiring, in a paper read to the congregation, declared that Newton was fundamentally sound. With some others they attempted to form a congregation, but failed, and were afterwards re-admitted to Bethesda on their confessing that they had erred in leaving. By Darby and those who agreed with him this was not considered a proper judgment of the evil doctrines. Müller and Craik both condemned Newton's doctrines, and declared that, if Newton's teachings were right, then Christ would require a Saviour Himself. But their judgment came too late, as what might have prevented a schism in July could not heal the division in December.

When Bethesda had judged the question in this fashion, Darby called on Müller with a view to reconciliation; but the accounts of the interview differ essentially, as can be seen by comparing Darby's letter to J. S. Oliphant with Müller's letter to an unknown correspondent in 1893. Darby issued a letter to all the Brethren condemning Bethesda, and calling upon all assemblies to reject her principles. He denounced as evil 'The Letter of the Ten,' which, he said, permitted association with a heretical congregation by allowing persons coming from it to have fellowship, provided they had not imbibed the evil doctrines. And this the Exclusive Brethren hold with inflexible strictness to this day. Fellowship with meetings where evil doctrines are held is repudiated, and no one is allowed fellowship unless he is sound doctrinally, and leads a godly life.

Henceforward Müller devoted himself to evangelical and philanthropic labours. He continued to be co-pastor at Bethesda. During the later years of his life he went on evangelical tours, and died on 10th March 1898, greatly honoured.

Müller and his followers took a definite stand against Darby, and the division became permanent. The Müller party was in the majority at first. J. L. Harris, W. H. Soltan, Lord Congleton, and other leaders sided with Müller, and stood for 'Open' principles, declaring them to be the original views of the Brethren. The Open Brethren devoted themselves to gospel work. Spurgeon called them a 'simple evangelical race.'

They made converts in large numbers. They have had a number of earnest teachers and evangelists. Their books and tracts have been circulated in millions during the past fifty years.

Several attempts have been made to effect reconciliation with their Exclusive friends, one especially by Henry Bowley in 1870-71, but all have been unsuccessful. As late as 1893, the Exclusive Brethren in Grant's fellowship in America were approached with a view to reunion. In 1906, however, Bethesda adopted a declaration which had been drawn up in 1894 by fourteen leaders on their own responsibility, and was now signed on behalf of the Assembly by eleven Brethren. It explained and modified some of the objectionable statements in 'The Letter of the Ten,' and had as its object a union with G. W. Heath and his associates who sought the re-union of all sections of Brethren. This movement is still in progress.

Amongst the Open Brethren disputes have been few. Their principal dispute, which took place in 1892, was over what is called the 'Needed Truth' question. The majority rejected the 'Needed Truth' principles, which were: (1) complete separation from all Christians not in their own fellowship; (2) only those baptized after conversion to be allowed to break bread; (3) elders in the oversight to be recognized in the place of rule over the assemblies. The movement has not been a success, as many of the 'Needed Truth' party have returned to the 'Open' fold, and in 1904 a dispute arose causing division amongst that party. The 'Open' Brethren are active and earnest, fraternize freely with other Christians, and do not evoke the same opposition as the 'Exclusives.' Their meetings are numerous, being established in nearly all large towns. It is generally admitted that in writers they are poorer than the Exclusives; still they have had some able writers, such as Thomas Newbery, editor of a valuable edition of the Bible, J. Denham Smith, W. Lincoln, Arthur Fridham, W. H. Soltan, etc.

From 1849 to 1879 the Exclusive Brethren had a period of prosperity. In 1849, G. V. Wigram commenced their chief organ, which extended to 18 vols. (1849-61), the *Present Testimony*. To it Darby contributed his 'Synopsis of the Books of the Bible,' and other writers gave of their best. It was in 1845 that William Kelly, the son of an Ulster squire, and a graduate with highest honours in Classics at Dublin, joined the movement. After having edited *The Prospect* (1848-50), he, in 1856, took up the editorship of the *Bible Treasury*, which he conducted for fifty years. To it Darby, Stoney, Mackintosh, Denny, Grant, Bellett, and others contributed, and, though its editor has passed away, it is still issued, and is the oldest organ of the Brethren. All their chief doctrines and controversies have been discussed in its pages. It was in it that Kelly's 'Commentaries' first appeared. W. H. Dorman edited the *Girdle of Truth*, 10 vols. (1855-66); J. B. Stoney conducted *A Voice to the Faithful* for thirty years; and C. H. Mackintosh, who had been engaged in scholastic work, and had given it up (1853), wrote *Notes on the Pentateuch*, which has had a wide circulation, and has greatly popularized Darby's views. There were many other publications during this period of great activity, which strengthened the Exclusive movement; and a ceaseless circulation of books and tracts went on. The Revival of 1857-60 and 1870 got a considerable impetus and colouring from the Brethren, and, ultimately, many of the converts joined their assemblies. A band of young officers resigned their commissions, devoting themselves to evangelizing and teaching. England, Ireland, Scotland, Canada, and the

United States came under their labours, and to this day some of these continue teaching the tenets of the Brethren, such as E. Cross and J. W. Smith.

Darby and Wigram visited foreign parts again and again. Though small at first, Darby's success in America was considerable. He influenced two men, viz. F. W. Grant and Dwight L. Moody. Grant joined the Exclusive Brethren's fellowship, and became their foremost author and leader in America, and meetings were established in most of the great American centres. In 1864, Dr. W. Wollston came to Scotland. Then there were meetings only in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, but, chiefly through his labours and those of others, gatherings sprang up all round, though many have died out since. Another man, William Reid, a Scottish clergyman, helped the movement greatly. He edited the *British Herald*, which had a wide circulation, and in it were inserted the choicest writings of the Brethren. In 1864, Bellett died. His piety and writings (which have been called prose-poems) left a deep impression on the Brethren, and greatly moulded their theology. It is worthy of note that, amid all the bitter controversies of those days, he was beloved by all parties. In 1872, Wigram visited Australia, where he gained many converts, and where, to this day, the tenets of the Brethren are taught and believed in.

From 1840-70 might be termed the flowing tide of the Exclusive movement. Though attacked and assailed on all hands, they steadily increased in numbers. Between 1855-66 controversy arose regarding some articles on the 'Sufferings of Christ' contributed by Darby to the *Bible Treasury*. W. H. Dorman and F. H. Hall charged him with holding views similar to Newton's. He offered to retire from fellowship, but the mass of the Brethren refused to regard him as a heretic. The controversy was bitter. Dorman, Hall, and others retired from communion, but formed no party. A host of writers attacked the Brethren. Darby, Kelly, and others replied vigorously. Darby's views were eventually adopted, and the controversy died down. Two other small disputes of no consequence occurred, one at Jersey, the other at Sheffield. Then in 1874, at Ryde, Isle of Wight, a dispute arose regarding marriage within the prohibited degrees. A clergyman, named Finch, who had left the English Church, and had broken bread in London, would not, on his return to Ryde, identify himself with the Ryde meeting because of its state, but, with some others, broke bread apart. In 1870 the aged Dr. Cronin, while on a visit to Ryde, broke bread with the Finch party. This brought the matter to a climax. On returning to London, Cronin was challenged for his action. As he affirmed that he was right, his act became a question for judgment. The Kennington meeting, though slow to judge, condemned his act, and on 31st August 1879 he was excluded from fellowship. It is generally conceded that serious blunders were committed during this dispute, with which the question of baptism mingled; and, as a result of it, the Ramsgate meeting divided into two parties, called after the names of the places at which they met, viz. Guildford Hall and Abbotshill. Finally, a letter commending a person from Guildford Hall was presented at Park Street, London. That meeting, after considering the case, decided to receive that person. This entailed the rejection of Abbotshill. Kelly, with others, maintained that this judgment was wrong, and would not accept it, even though his old leader Darby was the adviser. The result was that Blackheath, where Kelly resided, with other meetings, rejected

the Park Street judgment, upon the plea that it was not the voice of all the London meetings, which hitherto had always acted in unison. A new section of Brethren was formed, led by Kelly, and marked by very exclusive principles. They have not increased in numbers, and in 1899 a revolt, led by W. W. Fereday, took place on the question of freedom in preaching the gospel; but he has since joined the Open communion, and the movement is dissolved.

Kelly died at Exeter on 27th March 1903. Next to Darby he was perhaps the greatest amongst the Brethren. As a scholar, an expositor, and a controversialist, he stood high, and had a clear and convincing style of expression. When he died, the *Times* and many religious magazines proclaimed him the 'Nestor' of the Brethren. His works are highly spoken of by such scholars as Ewald, Westcott, and Sanday. In the British Museum catalogue his works fill ten pages. On the suggestion of the Archbishop of York, he presented his unique library, weighing 17 tons, to the town of Middleborough.

Darby died on 20th April 1892. He felt keenly the Kelly division, as can be seen from one of his last letters to the Brethren, in which he requested them not to attack Kelly. His writings extend to 80 vols., and he translated the Bible into English, German, and French.

A small division, occasioned by S. O'Malley Cluff, took place in 1881, but the party is now nearly extinct.

In 1882, after fifty-five years spent amongst the Brethren, the aged Dr. Cronin died. He was marked for his piety and fervour. Previously (in 1870) Darby's trusted friend, G. V. Wigram, had passed away. He was the editor of the *Englishman's Hebrew and Greek Concordance to the Old and New Testaments*, a work of accuracy and scholarship on which he spent a fortune, and in the production of which he received invaluable help from the learned Tregelles, who had been identified with the Brethren in their early days, but had disagreed with their judgment in the Newton case.

When Darby died, J. B. Stoney, whose religious ideas and teaching were said to be High Church, became leader in Britain; while, in America, F. W. Grant, who had put forth, while Darby was alive, some views on the 'Old Testament Saints having life in the Son,' and had affirmed that 'the man in the seventh of Romans was sealed by the Holy Spirit,' became leader. Darby had borne with Grant's views, but now that Darby was gone, fault was found with them, especially by Lord A. P. Coell. Grant published his views in a pamphlet, which was severely criticised by W. J. Lowe and A. C. Ord. In 1884, Coell and Alfred Mace, the evangelist, visited Montreal, where they condemned Grant's views, and, with a majority of the Montreal meeting, pronounced him a heretic, and excluded him from communion. This action affected only America and the few followers of C. E. Stuart in England. Most of the American meetings sided with Grant, and the Grant company prospered greatly. Mace in 1906 tendered a confession to the Grant Brethren for his rash act, lamenting that the man he had chiefly wronged was dead. Grant's death in 1903 prevented his completing his *Numerical Bible*, a work of considerable merit. He was beloved and honoured by those amongst whom he had laboured for forty years.

In 1885 a dispute took place at Reading. C. E. Stuart, a learned Brother, published a pamphlet on 'Christian Standing and Condition.' This provoked a controversy mingled with a petty local quarrel, and brought about the separation of

Stuart, with a small body of followers in England and some in the north of Scotland. The party has not grown, and Stuart died in January 1902. It is now generally thought that, if the pamphlet had been left alone, it would have passed into oblivion, and this division would have been averted. The Grant section in America and the followers of Stuart are now joined in fellowship.

During the last ten years of Stoney's leadership there was associated with him F. E. Raven, who went even beyond Stoney in pressing the subjective side of truth. About 1890, Raven expressed views such as that 'eternal life is not imparted to the saint; it is a sphere in which he lives in the love of God,' and is distinct from the new birth; Christ did not manifest eternal life to the world, but only to His own; 'Eternal Life' is not a title of Christ prior to incarnation, and the righteousness of God in 2 Co 5th is future. Irreverent expressions concerning Christ's infancy were used by some of Raven's followers. These were condemned, but, nevertheless, a separation took place at Baxhill. This assembly refused to receive from Greenwich a person commended in the usual way, and cut off Raven and his meeting from fellowship. The Baxhill decision was upheld by W. L. Lowe, H. B. MacArthur, C. Stanley, and others in England, and by A. H. Rule and others in America; while, on the Continent, C. Brookhaus and many Dutch, French, and Swiss Brethren refused Raven's views. In England the division was serious. In France, Germany, and Switzerland the Brethren practically as a whole rejected Raven's doctrines.

At a conference in 1895, Raven questioned the ancient formula, 'the unity of His Person,' when applied to Christ's being God and man in one Person. His definition of Christ's Person was 'a Divine Person in human condition.' He affirmed that the Incarnation did not change or add to the Person of the Son. These and other assertions caused trouble. W. T. Turpin, a gifted Brother, who had long been in fellowship, retired from the Brethren; and many of their best men, though still remaining in communion, did so with much misgiving. Raven's teaching was severely criticized by Brethren outside his own communion, such as E. A. Thomas (Australia), F. W. Grant (America), and W. Kelly (England). Raven did not press his views, but his followers did. His visit to America in 1900 caused a division at Minneapolis. The extremists pressed his views too much, and some English Brethren supported E. Acomb, who opposed Raven; but most of the London leaders upheld Acomb's opponents. A small number were recognised as being in fellowship by the London Brethren in July 1905. These had all accepted Raven's views. J. S. Oliphant and Mace protested against the reception of this party, and would not withdraw their protest; so they were excluded from fellowship by the London leaders. It was at this time that Mace joined G. W. Heath in his attempt to amalgamate the different companies of Open and Exclusive Brethren.

Another storm burst after Raven's death. Several evangelists were preaching with considerable freedom, claiming the right to act on their own responsibility in their work. This was pronounced 'looseness and independency.' J. Taylor, of New York, set forth the view that 'we are saved by Christ and what He has established down here, viz. the Church or House of God.' A brother named James Boyd visited Taylor, and thereafter judged Taylor's views to be semi-Romanian. He wrote criticizing Taylor's errors. A controversy ensued. Boyd was called upon to withdraw his tract, or retire from fellowship. He would do

neither, and in this he was supported by a great many Brethren in the north of England.

In 1906-7 a local dispute arose at Alnwick, Northumberland. That meeting was 'broken to pieces,' it was said, 'by its own folly.' Efforts were made to effect a reconciliation. At the end of two years (1907), Glanton and the neighbouring assemblies, with the concurrence of most Brethren in the district, decided to receive any person who had judged himself and sought reconciliation with his Brethren at Alnwick. This had been the practice of Brethren hitherto; but those who opposed Glanton's action in so doing pronounced this an infringement of the principle of 'local responsibility' and an interference with the Lord's rights. A few withdrew from fellowship at Newcastle and South Shields, and so forced on a crisis. An effort was made to suspend fellowship with the Northumberland meetings, as they were said to be 'in confusion.' This principle of 'suspending fellowship' was resented in many places; and, finally, when a sister from Whitley Bay presented a letter of commendation at George Street, Edinburgh, the Brethren there refused this principle of 'suspended fellowship,' and received her. There was a secession in consequence, and those opposed to Glanton formed a new meeting. The London Brethren were called upon to consider the rival claims of the two companies in Edinburgh, when a sister presented a letter to a London meeting, and most of the London meetings decided that Glanton infringed the principle of 'local responsibility,' extinguished the Alnwick assembly, and 'usurped the Lord's functions' in so doing. This decision, carried into effect 31st August 1908, cut off Glanton, Edinburgh, and all other meetings associated with them. W. T. P. Wolston's pamphlet, 'Hear the Right,' gives the history of this last division, and deals in detail with all the contributory causes that led to it.

Such is a very brief outline of the history of the Brethren. Forty years ago their early dissolution was prophesied; but they are still, though divided, a living force. Their religion is a simple one. The Bible to them is an infallible and living book; Christ is an all-sufficient and living Saviour; God is a loving Father revealed in the Son of His bosom; salvation is a reality, and can be known now; Heaven with its glories, and the everlasting Kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, are proclaimed, and believed in; the Lord's Coming is the great object of hope; the world is under the judgment of the Cross, and men must be saved from impending doom; Hell and eternal punishment are realities; the world's politics, philosophy, and mere social reform advocated for the betterment of the world are but the whitewashing of a house built on sand, or the attempted renovation of a system morally corrupt; their mission is not to save the world but to save people out of it, and while passing through it the Christian is to live soberly, righteously, and godly; his business is to get right and keep right in his soul with God; it is his duty to obey the powers that be, save only when the civil government interferes with his conscience in obedience to God's command. The Brethren all take the place of the Christian priesthood, and gather to the Lord's name. They look for His Holy Spirit to guide some brother to break the bread, pray, or minister, in subjection to the Lord in the midst. Women are not allowed to speak in the assembly. Their teachers minister by lecture or Bible-reading; their pastors care for and tend the flock, while their evangelists preach the gospel. In the present condition of the Church they do not believe in appointing elders, seeing that their meeting is but a fragment of the body of true

Christians resident in their own locality, and some who might be elders are in the churches around. If, however, in their meetings there be men possessing the requisite qualifications, these are thankfully owned and honoured, though not officially appointed. Statistics of Brethren cannot be ascertained, but they form a good proportion of the Christian community in Britain and America and on the Continent.

LITERATURE.—The clearest statement of the general views of the Brethren is found in Darby's *What I Learn from Scripture*, which was revised by Wm. Kelly in his *Bible Treasury*, and is published by Morrish, London, as a tract. The following is a select Bibliography from hundreds of books and pamphlets, and gives both sides of their disputes, and what is written against them:—For the general history of the Brethren: W. B. Neatby, *A History of the Plymouth Brethren*, 1901; J. S. Teulon, *History and Teaching of the Plymouth Brethren*, 1883; A. Miller, *The Brethren: their Rise, Progress, and Testimony*, c. 1877. For the Plymouth Question: J. N. Darby, *Narrative of Facts, Proceedings at Rawstorne Street*; Lord Cougleton, *Reasons for Leaving Rawstorne Street*; On the sufferings of Christ, Wm. Trotter, *The Whole Case of Plymouth and Bethesda*, 1898. On Bethesda: G. V. Wigram, *The Present Question*, 1848-9; H. Groves, *Darbyism, its Rise and Development*. A Review of the Bethesda Question, 1867; J. N. D., *The Sufferings of Christ*; W. H. Dorman, *The Loss of Twenty-eight Years of Association with J. N. D.*, 1866. On the law and the Righteousness of God: J. N. D., *Brethren and Their Reveries*; S. P. Tregalies, *Five Letters of the Recent Denials of Our Lord's Vicarious Life*, 1864. On the Rapture Question: J. H., *A Fresh Testimony . . . Ecclesiastical Error . . . an Epitome of the Rapture Scissors*, 1882. On Grant and Montreal: *Narrative of the Facts at Montreal*, 1884; E. C. L. and E. Crain, *Statement of Separation*; F. W. Grant, *Letter on the Montreal Union*. On Reading: C. B., *The Reading Question, its History and Issues*; F. H. B., *A Concise Statement of the Reading Question*. On V. K. Raven, or the Boxhill Division: F. E. R., *Papers on Eternal Life*, etc.; H. A. Hammond, *Record of Some Correspondence, Documents, and Facts, 1890-1*. On the attempted union of Open Brethren with Grant: F. W. Grant, *What is the Present Position of Open Brethren?* 1888. On the second Raven trouble: F. E. R., *Readings and Lectures in United States and Canada, 1898-1902*; Wm. Kelly, *F. E. R.'s Heterodoxy on Eternal Life and other Divine Truths*; F. W. Grant, *Retractions of Truth*; E. A. Thomas, *Refutation of False Doctrines, being Truth for the Time* (No. 3). On the American and English troubles: J. S. Oliphant, *Minneapolis, 1905*; J. Taylor, J. Pillatt, and others, *Readings at Chicago*, Dec. 1904, and Jan. 1905; *Letters from J. Boyd on American Teaching*, 1908, 1909; W. T. P. Weldon, *How the Right: Two Letters by H. Finkel on the Glanton Question*. On 'Needed Truth' and Open Brethren Dispute: *Brief Statement of the Doctrines of Holy Scripture* (views of the 'Needed Truth' party). For attacks on the Brethren generally (of these there are many, but the following are the strongest): W. Reid, *Plymouth Brethrenism Unveiled and Refuted*, 1880; *The Plymouth Brethren, their Rise, Progress, Practices, and Doctrines*, a lecture by Edward Dennett, 1871. To this, Dennett himself replied later when he became Brother, in his *The Step I have taken*, 1878. See also J. C. L. Carson, *The Heresies of the Plymouth Brethren*, 1879; Thomas Crosskey, *Plymouth Brethrenism*, 1878.

JOHN M'CULLOCH.

BREVARY.—See **LITERATURE**.

BRIBERY.—See **CORRUPTION**.

BRIDE, BRIDEGROOM.—See **MARRIAGE**.

BRIDGE.—To the awe with which primitive man regarded the flowing of a wide, deep river, effectually barring his access to the opposite side, may be traced an extensive series of superstitious and religious practices current in former ages, and still observed in modified forms to-day. The subject may be approached under the following three postulates: (i.) To all early races, rivers were part of a Divine scheme for delimiting frontiers, for apportioning territories to the different races of mankind, and for obstructing the interference of district with district. Rivers accordingly acquired a semi-sacred character, and each stream had its tutelary divinity. The torrent that foamed across man's path was the vomit of a local demon. (ii.) To interfere with what the gods had laid down as a natural boundary, to bridge the stream which had been intended to act as a barrier to the insatiable and the restless curiosity of man, was a daring,

may, a sacrilegious act. In the event of a bridge being built, therefore, the local river-spirit must be appeased by some compensating sacrifice. (iii.) Once this sacrifice has been made, and the river-spirit been placated, the bridge becomes in a sense sacred. It is the aim of this article to trace out the ramifications of these three fundamental ideas.

I. THE PRIMITIVE CONCEPTION THAT EACH STREAM HAD ITS RESIDENT DIVINITY OR RIVER-SPIRIT.—It is beyond the scope of this article to marshal the evidence in support of this first notion. The conception that each stream had its protecting divinity, whose majesty must not be trifled with, was a very common one in Greek and Roman mythology. The customary emblematic representation of the idea in Greek art was that of a figure of an old man with a long beard, clothed in blue garments, and crowned with a chaplet of reeds. He is usually depicted reclining upon an urn from which water continually flows, and, as the river-god, he was supposed to dwell by preference in the caverns and deepest recesses of the river's bed. His care of the river extended to its pollution, and Homer (*Iliad*, xxi. 136 ff.) has described the resentment of the two rivers of Troy, the Scamander and Simois, against Achilles, when he presumptuously profaned their waters. (For further illustration of the hostility of a river-spirit if his majesty be insulted and his quiet disturbed, see J. Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, ii. 425-430; W. Gregor, *Folklore of the North-East of Scotland*, pp. 66, 67; *Trans. Asiatic Soc. of Japan for Ainu river-gods and goddesses*; J. Abercromby, 'Beliefs and Religious Ceremonies of the Mordvins,' in *FLJ* vii. 72; also *Annales Archéol.* tom. ix. pp. 107-108; and for the idea of the impiety of disturbing natural boundaries, cf. Horace, *Carm.* i. 3. 21: 'Nequicquam deus abscedit Prudens Oceano dissociabili Terras, si tamen imples Non tangenda rates transiliunt vada').

II. THE APPEASING OF THE OFFENDED RIVER-SPIRIT.—I. Was this observed in connexion with the *Pons Sublicus*?—The necessity of some expiatory sacrifice to the river-god, when a bridge was built across the stream, defying his supremacy, seems to have been recognized at a very early period. The early history of Rome shows traces of it. Probably not more than three bridges were erected over the Tiber before the end of the Republic. Of these the most ancient and by far the most famous was the *Pons Sublicus*. Erected by Ancus Martius to unite Rome to his new fortification on the Janiculum, it was probably situated at the Forum Boarium, not far from the broken arches of the Ponte de Rotto (Liv. i. 33; Dionys. iii. 45, ix. 68; Plut. *Numa*, 9). Down to its latest days, the entire structure, including every bolt and fastening, was constructed of timber [for the reason for this see p. 855]. On the Ides of May (Ovid says the day before), an annual procession of Pontifices, Prætors, and Vestal Virgins marched to this bridge. On the way they visited the so-called 24 *Sacella Argeorum* (chapels), and from them carried away a corresponding number of *Argæi*. These *Argæi* were puppets or effigies made of balrushes, and stuffed so as to represent bodies of old men bound hand and foot. The Flaminica Dialis, the priestess of Jupiter, was present, dressed, not in her customary bridal attire, but in mourning garb. To the accompaniment of the chanting of appropriate hymns and prayers, the puppets were lifted by the Vestal Virgins and flung into the river from the parapet of the bridge (Dionys. i. 38; Ovid, *Fasts*, v. 621 ff.; Plutarch, *Quest. Rom.* 32 and 36). Of a custom so peculiar,

* From the rubbish, or piles, on which it was built.

† Dionysius gives 20 as the number.

the Roman antiquarians suggested various explanations:—

(u) The *Scylla* were reported to be the graves of the Greeks who came to Italy with Hercules, and the *Argoi* were his followers. Though settled in fair Italy, they entertained tender memories of sweet Argos; and, as each hero died, he bequeathed to his friends the sacred duty of throwing his body into the Tiber that it might be transported by the waves to the far-off shore of his fatherland. The rush made image was the later substitute for the dead body of the early Greek (Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 366). The ancient etymology of *Argoi* from *Argos* is supported by Mommsen (*Staatsrecht*, iii. 123).

(5) The second explanation of the practice was that it was the harmless survival of an earlier and ruder epoch, when old men, above the age of sixty, being considered useless for military service, were cast into the stream and drowned. Though Ovid acknowledges that this traditional explanation was an old one, he nevertheless indignantly repudiates it as a slander on the humanity of his ancestors. Such practices, however, were not unknown in the ancient world. That those past their prime, and afflicted with the increasing infirmities of age, should thus be put to death, was not considered incompatible with filial piety, but rather in the line of kindness, and even of patriotic duty to the State (*Cæsar, de Bell. Gall. vi. 16; Tac. Germ. 9 and 20; cf. also art. OLD AGE*).

In later days there arose a belief that the pons from which these old men were sitting was a more important structure than the Pons Sublicus. On the day the Comitia, a number of polling booths were erected in the forum, or wherever the voting was to take place. These booths were, whatever they were, a narrow passage or plinth turned point to point, and, when the voter had reached his station, or voting-thicket, out of one of the large rooms called *stipes* or *cellulae*, he passed along the pons, and emerged from the booth by a corresponding 'bridge' on the other side (Cicero, in Plaut. li. 40, pro Plancio, § pro A. Marc. cap. 33). Fustini (p. 364, s. s. 'Stanzani') argues that, though the aged men were free from the burden of active service for the State, they reluctantly retained their right to vote. The younger men accordingly were annoyed, and, as their numbers went up the pons to record their vote, they raised the cry, which became proverbial, that the old men should be thrown from the bridge ('*congeriamus de ponte*'). Ovid (Pont. v. 384) states that the youths actually threw the old men from the bridge (see also pro Aetio A. Marinus, li. 100, Verre, aged Licinius, Inst. l. 11. §). But as these voting points were comparatively late institutions, and the proverb is a very old one, it would seem after all that the bridge referred to was not the plank of the Comitia polling-booth, but the more solid Pons Sublicus. The fact, however, remains that patriots were always looked on with horror by the Romans, and it is hard to see how the gentiles should have passed into a yonder cemetery.

(c) By others the rite was regarded as a relic of the time when human sacrifices were general. Ovid states that it was believed by some that Hercules was the first to throw into the stream as sacrifices to the river-god, not living citizens, but fictitious bundles of straw. That human sacrifices were not infrequent in the early days of the Republic is shown by the evidence collected by Morivale (*Hist.* iii. 26). O. Müller (*Etrusker*, ii. 20) believes that the practice was introduced into the Roman cultus from Etruria. It continued down to A.D. 857, when Cm. Corn. Lentulus and P. Licin. Crassus, as consuls for the year, made a law which, for the future, prohibited any such human sacrifices. There is, therefore, nothing inherently impossible in the notion that the Pons Sublicius was the scene of primitive human immolation. J. G. Fraser points out (*JPA* xiv. [1895] p. 156, note) that, in early Rome, bridges, being novelties, were viewed with suspicion. They were an insult to the river-god, inasmuch as 'they robbed him of his food by carrying dry-shod over his head the people who, in the course of nature, would have been drowned at the ford.' Thus arose the practice of yielding to Father Tiber a yearly compensation, at first of living citizens who were sung into the river, but

later of substitutes in the form of stuffed ellipses
of old men.

On the other hand, W. Wards Fowler (*Roman Festivals*, p. 112*E*), in an elaborate analysis of the ancient rite, arrives at the conclusion that the ceremony was dramatic rather than sacrificial, and had primarily to do with the annual purification of the land. He dwells upon the presence at the rite of the Festivals, and especially of the Vestal, on whom lay the duty of throwing the puppet into the stream, the idea being that the food and nourishment of the State depended on an accurate performance of their duties. He points to the presence and dream of the Fanciulla Diana, who appeared in this part only of the great ceremony of purification that marked the conclusion of the year and the beginning of a new season which must be entered on with good cheer. It was something akin to *Adonis*-worship, which in Egypt was observed in the same method by the immersion in water of a puppet accompanied by wailing. Manhardt (*Ant. Wiss. u. Philol.*, p. 578) mentions a *Servius* presiding in which figures of straw, dressed in female clothing are laid on a bier, carried to a lake or river to be put ashore, and where the spectators hide to lay bare and wallow and again, in another part of the same lay (*Ant. Wiss. u. Philol.*), a woman, a servant of the house, as a symbol that the year has gone and is to be succeeded by another, mourning mournful songs and giving vent to grief. Manhardt (*Baumh.*) believes the *Alte* gave many nations, and that several centuries before the practice of burning a puppet, that the piece of the puppet was buried was taken by a small tree, or a man of straw, dressed up in foliage or fastened to a tree. In almost every case the puppet is ducked in water or sprinkled, though sometimes it is burned or buried. The Bavarian *Wasserwey* was an effigy which was carried round the fields at Whit-tide and then thrown from a high place, a custom. There is still extant a law passed in A.D. 1251 forbidding the ducking of persons at Erfurt on the Easter or Whit-tide festivals. Wards Fowler follows Manhardt in maintaining that all this is a symbol of the departure of winter, and the arrival of the festival season. In support of this theory he points out that, while the old Roman practice was to throw in *old men*, it is a curious coincidence that the name of the puppet thrown in at Whit-tide at Halle is *'der Alte'*. The German puppet, again, is *schade*, and the Roman effigy bore a name *Agreus*, which is probably derived from a root *agr* (see in *agrum*), meaning the white ones (= the old ones). This explanation, however, though it explains some things very easily, and fits in with some otherwise obscure details, fails to give any satisfactory reason why a bridge over a river should be the scene of the purification of the land, or why in such cases there should be water, and the casting of a puppet into a stream. We come back, therefore, to the view, supported by a multitude of corroborative facts, that the casting into the stream in early times of a live victim, and the substitution in later ages of effigies, were due to a belief in the necessity of placating the river-spirit, whose majesty was offended by a structure spanning his waters, the very object of which was to rob him of his toll in human victims.

2. This root-idea of the necessity of a sacrifice traced to modern times.—The wide-spread nature of this custom will be recognized from the following instances. Herodotus (li. 90) states that the priest of the Nile-god claimed the right to bury with high honours all bodies drowned in the river, 'as being something more than human.' The god had claimed them, and they were his property. Maspero (*Dawn of Civilization*, p. 20) describes the sacrifices to the river at Sûlêsh on the rising of the Nile. See also Lane (*Mod. Egyptians*, ch. xvi.) for the 'areesh' (bride)—the virgin thrown into the river as a sacrifice to obtain a plentiful inundation. Picart (*Customs and Relig. Cost. of the World*, 1733, iii. 87) refers to the practice of the savages on the Mississippi of sacrificing prisoners to the guni who predate over the waters. Compare also the yearly sacrifice of a girl to the spirit of Niagara. When a man is drowning in a river, it is a common saying in Germany that 'the spirit of the stream is getting his yearly victim' (Grimm, *Deutsche Mythol.* p. 400). There is a legend that the spirit of the river Ribbla, in York-

* In Sicily, as late as the 16th cent., according to Guagnini (*Historiae Siculae descriptio*, fol. 168), on March 17 of each year, being the anniversary of the destruction of the pagan idols by Minerva I. (JUNO), 'passi in villa ad oppidum de more recepto simulacrum quoddam ad dimittendum mabeis evocatum, oppidique turmatim agere quendam caritatem trinitatem simulacrum illud de ponte in flumen precipitant.' This would seem, however, to be merely a sort of Guy Fawkes celebration of the destruction of paganism. In this general connexion it should be noted that Græppa (*Orlando e Netholeis et Rottengomachis*, p. 302) holds that such evocations as those associated with the *doggi* were originally rain-charms.

shire (known as Peg o' Noll), demanded a victim every seven years (W. Henderson, *Folklore of the Northern Counties*, p. 285); and the American Indians have a tradition that the Falls of Niagara must have two human victims annually. The notion, however, is very prominently brought out in the following connexions:—

(a) *Sacrifices necessary at the foundation of bridges*.—A legend is current about London Bridge that, in order to render the structure secure, the stones were besprinkled with the blood of little children. When the broken dam of the Nogai was repaired in A.D. 1463, the peasants were advised to throw in a living man. They seized a beggar, made him drunk, and buried him (Tyler, *Primitive Culture*, i. 104). In 1842, on the erection of a new bridge at Halle, it was widely believed that the structure ought to have had a child built into it (Grimm, *op. cit.* p. 956). The builder of the 'Loh-Family Bridge' at Shanghai experienced some difficulty in laying the foundation. He vowed to Heaven 3000 children if the river-spirit would allow the stones to be laid properly. The divinity (she was a goddess on this occasion) replied that she would not require their lives, but that the number named would be attacked by smallpox. The epidemic actually broke out, and half the number died. It is a Chinese belief that a bridge built without attention to these religious observances will bring about a visitation of smallpox. In Tibet, when smallpox is raging, the inhabitants of the villages as yet untouched by the disease try to stay its progress by placing thorns on the bridges to terrify away the evil spirits who bring the plague. Those who die of the disease are thrown into the rivers (Annie W. Marston, *The Great Closed Land* [Tibet], p. 41). At Hang-Chow, a tea-merchant cast himself into the river Tsien-tang as a sacrifice to the spirit of the dykes which were constantly being washed away (Monseigneur D. Conway, *Demonology and Devil-lore*, 1879, i. 304). In 1872 there was a scare at Calcutta when the Hooghly Bridge was built. The Hindus imagined that the spirit of the river would consent to have its majesty invaded only on condition that each pier of the structure was founded on a layer of children's heads (A. B. Gomme, *Traditional Games of England, Scotland, and Ireland*, i. 346 ff.; G. L. Gomme, *Folklore Beliefs of Early Village Life*, p. 29). In 1880 the *Pail Mall Gazette* reported that heads of unwary travellers in China were being cut off, and £10 was being paid for each head by the Department of Public Works in order that they might be built into the foundations of the piers of a number of new bridges that were in course of erection. It was stated that such was the terror of the coolies that for no money could they be induced to carry fares to the suburbs at night. (For a similar story see *Nature*, April 30, 1890, under title 'Megalthic Folklore,' by S. E. Peal, Sibbager, Assam, March 27.) Among the popular traditions of Albania, there is one to the effect that human beings were formerly buried under the foundations of important bridges. Throughout the Greek East there is a current belief that every building has a resident spirit, and every stream a resident genie, which goes by the name of the *exayxios*. It is believed that the man whose shadow falls on the first-laid stone of a house will die within the year, and his shadow, remaining in the building, becomes its *exayxios*; hence the practice of sacrificing fowls and sheep at the beginning of any important construction to avert danger from the workmen. 'But sometimes, instead of killing an animal, the builder entices a man to the foundation-stone, secretly measures his body, or a part of it, or his shadow,

and buries the measure under the foundation-stone; or he lays the foundation-stone upon the man's shadow. It is believed that the man will die within the year' (B. Schmidt, *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen*, p. 188 f., quoted by J. G. Fraser, *Golden Bough*, i. 201). Until a sacrifice has been offered to this spirit, no bridge will be allowed to stand secure. A bridge so secured is termed 'stolichion-built' (*stolichion-baitos*), and legends regarding such bridges are everywhere met with. Some of the Greek folk-songs are famous, e.g. *The Bridge of Adana in Kappadocia*: 'All day long they built the piers: by night they fall in ruins. The builders are at their wits' end. They know that the bridge will never stand until a living spirit is given to it in sacrifice. But who is willing to be thus offered? The engineer entices his wife to the edge of the excavation for one of the piers. He drops his ring into it, and induces his wife to fetch it up:

'Then down goes she, and down goes she, steps forty-two
descends she,
And all upon her as the gate of stone a thousand times,
And throw they down upon her, too, of earth a thousand
spade-fuls.'

As she dies, she calls out:

'Hear then my words, Yianakli mine, let not the world
rejoice thee,
Three only others once were we, we were three sisters only;
The one did build the Damaski bridge, the second the
Euphrates,

And I, I too, the murdered one, the bridge built of Adana'
(Lamy M. J. Garnett and J. R. Stenard-Garnett, *Greek Folk Poetry*, 1894, p. 71).

The same legend is current in Italy as regards the Bridge of Arta, which collapsed till the master-builder walled in his wife. With her dying curse, however, she prophesied that the bridge would always tremble (ib. p. 81). The same story is told of the 'Lady's Bridge' in Peloponnesus (ib. p. 70) and the 'Trembling Bridge' near Canes in Crete. So engrained is the belief in the necessity of such sacrifices, that it is alleged that in Zacynthus the inhabitants would still kill a human victim if they were not deterred by fear of the law's vengeance (B. Schmidt, *op. cit.* p. 197 ff.). The idea that underlay the old Roman substitution of rush-men for human victims is still observable occasionally in different parts of the world; and to this day sacrifices of a less dreadful character than that of human beings continue to be offered to the water-spirits of Austria and Germany (Th. Vernaleken, *Mythen u. Brauche des Volkes in Oesterreich*, 1850, p. 186; A. D. Wuttke, *Deutscher Volksaberglaube*, 1900, § 430).

(b) *The 'bridge-sacrifice' a part of the widespread belief in the necessity of a 'foundation-sacrifice' for all structures*.—This placating of the river-spirit is thus in strict harmony with the almost universal belief in the necessity of a sacrifice as a rite preliminary to the erection of all buildings. Thus the Priests are said to have bathed their pre-historic foundation-stones with human blood to propitiate the spirit of the soil (Forbes Leslie, *Early Races of Scotland*, i. 149). Mackinnon (*Culture in Early Scotland*, p. 53) asserts that 'even after the humanizing doctrines of Jesus had become the popular creed, the power of this grim rite occasionally asserted itself in the practice of slaying or burying a victim, before or during the erection of a building, in the belief that only thus could it be made secure' (see also Gaidon, *Mémoires*, iv. 16). A Thuringian legend is extant that, to make the castle of Liebenstein secure and impregnable, a child was bought from its mother for hard cash, and walled into the foundations. The wall of Copenhagen sank during its erection as fast as it was built. The workmen took an innocent little girl, set her on a chair at a table with toys and entables, and then twelve master-

masons closed a vault over her. The wall thereupon was completed and stood firm (Tyler, *Primitive Culture*, I, 104 f.). There is a Sarvian legend that three brothers combined to build the fortress of Soutari, but were inflamed by the demons, who reared by night what it had taken 300 masons to erect by day. At last the demons were appeased by the immolation of the wife of the youngest of the three, who happened to be the first to come with food for the workmen (ib.). When Vortigern was erecting a strong fort in Snowdon, what the workmen built in one day was always swallowed up in earth the next night. The king consulted Merlin, who advised that the stones and mortar should be sprinkled with the blood of a child born of a mother without a father (Nennius, *How. Hist. Brit.*, p. 67; also Selden's note to Drayton's *Polyolbon*, p. 158). In Adamson's *Life of St. Columba* (Rever's tr. 1887, p. 203) there is the following naive yet significant statement:

"Columba said then to his people, 'It would be well for us that our roads should pass into the earth here.' And he said to them, 'It is permitted to you that some of you go under the earth of this island to consecrate it.' Others arose quickly, and then spoke. 'If you except me,' he said, 'I am ready for that.' O Others, said Columba, 'you shall receive the reward of this: no request shall be granted to any one of my tithing unless he first ask of thee.' Others then went to heaven. He (Columba) then founded the church of Iy."

Thus the spirits of the soil of Iona were propitiated, whereas till then they had overthrown by night what had been erected by day (see Scott's *Ministry of the Scott. Border*, note to the 'Court of Keeldar' and 'Glenkiln'; Jones, *Eccles. Hist.*; Pennant, *Voyage to Scotland*, I, 200 ff.; Joyce, *Social History of Ancient Ireland*, I, 204 ff.).

Human skeletons have been found under foundations of the round towers in Ireland (*FLJ* I, 23). A Highland tradition relates that, when the workmen had assembled to lay the foundation of Tigh-an-Torr, in Western Ross-shire, they caught the first person who chanced to pass, and buried him under the foundation-stone. At the laying of the foundation of Redcastle, a red-haired girl was buried alive under the stone (Haddon, *The Study of Man*, 1902, p. 364; see also MacBain, *Celtic Mythology and Religion*, pp. 46, 46; Stokes, *Revue Celtique*, II, 300, 301; Windisch, *Irish Grammar*, p. 130). Fitzstephen, in his account of London in the 12th cent., mentions that, when the Tower was built, the mortar was tempered with the blood of beasts (A. B. Gomme, *Tradit. Gomas*, p. 346 f.). Formerly in Siam, when a new city gate was being erected, it was customary for a number of officers to lie in wait and seize the first four or eight persons who happened to pass by. These were then buried alive under the gate-posts to serve as guardian-angels. The *Ceylon Observer* of Jan. 27th, 1887, had a paragraph in which it was stated that the schools in Colombo were empty, many children were missing, and parents were afraid to let their offspring venture out of doors, because the report had got abroad that 360 boys under the age of 12 were required as sacrifices to propitiate the deity who was responsible for the crack in the great Maligakanda reservoir (*FLJ* v, 200). For further illustrations of this 'foundation-sacrifice' idea see Gernard, *The Land beyond the Forest* (Transylvania), II, 17; H. Clay Trumbull, *The Threshold Covenant*, p. 47; Macalister in *PEFSI*, 1904, p. 16, where a plate shows a skeleton of a woman discovered at Gezer as a foundation-sacrifice in a pre-Israelitic Palestine town; Rodd, *Customs and Lore of Modern Greece*, p. 169; *FLJ*, vol. III, pp. 293-295, vol. IV, pp. 194, 196; *FLJ*, vol. I, pp. 22-24, 92. Bowring, *Norman Popular Poetry*, p. 64; Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, pp. 972, 1095; St. John, *Far East*, I, 46. See also art. FOUNDATION.

(c) The primitive heathen 'river-spirit' becomes

the 'devil' of Christian times.—In the Christian centuries the heathen idea of a water-spirit, or genius of the river, gave place to the conception that the devil assumes guardianship over all streams. And yet there was a wide spread belief that the jurisdiction of the devil extended no further than the middle of a running stream (cf. Burns, *Tom o' Shander*). He has accordingly a special antipathy to bridges, as was the case with his ancient prototype. Numerous, therefore, are the legends to be found over all Europe attached to so-called 'Devil's Bridges,' narrating how the Evil One would not allow the bridge to be erected until he had received payment of an offering like that of Iphigenia. In Herzegovina the Muslims regard the office of a civil engineer with pious horror, and curse a new bridge when they pass it. It is to them the symbol of the devil's presence, and the token of an unholy compact between the Evil One and the architect (A. J. Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegovina*, p. 314). Like his predecessor the river-spirit, the devil, however, was sometimes cheated of his due. Many of the more ancient bridges of Germany and Switzerland have legends attached to them narrating how the hard conditions laid down by the great enemy (whose tale of victims by drowning was out short by the erection of a bridge) were successfully evaded.

The Mountain bridge in the Tyrol and the bridge at Rastatt are illustrations. In the case of the latter, the architect was apprenticed to a master who was building the Cathedral. He laid a wager that he would bridge the Innache before his master laid the cope-stone of the church. After many failures, the apprentice entered into a compact with the devil, who appeared to him in the garb of a friar. The devil undertook to build fifteen arches of the bridge, on the understanding that he would get the first three living creatures that crossed the bridge. The work was completed in time. The wily apprentice sent across the bridge a dog, a cock, and a hen. The devil in wrath killed the animals to please and disappoint. A procession of holy monks passed over the bridge and rendered it safe, and in proof of the reality of the story the figures of the three animals are still triumphantly shown, carved upon the bridge (Monsieur D. Conway op. cit. vol. I, p. 104; Tyler, op. cit. I, 106; for other instances in Germany see Grimm, op. cit. p. 363). Goethe (*Poet. II, 4*, Maynard's tr.) makes *Walden* say:

"My wanderer on faith's crutches totters on
Towards the Devil's Bridge and Devil's Stone."

A French legend of another 'Pont du diable' describes how an apple was thrown along a newly-finished bridge, and a cat allowed to go in chase of it. The devil was again thus cheated. Principal Kays has kindly favoured the writer with a similar legend from Wales. 'The devil bargains with an old woman who wants the bridge built, to have as his pay the first creature that crosses the bridge, and expects thus to get the old woman herself. But she takes her dog with her, and throws a piece of bread before her. The dog rushes after it over the bridge, and the devil does not come in the end.' Cf. Longfellow (*The Golden Legend*, Canto v.), who describes the Devil's Bridge at Fribourg, near Lausanne.

And the Devil grumbled to let it stand,
Under compact and condition
That the first living thing which crossed
Should be surrendered into his hand,
And be beyond redemption lost.
At length the bridge being all completed,
The Abbot, standing at its head,
Threw across it a loaf of bread,
Which a hungry dog sprang after,
And the rascal re-embod with paws of leather
To see the Devil thus dastard!

It is the same idea which appears in the practice of building simply coffins into walls in Germany. In the walling of a tomb instead of a child under an altar in Denmark to ensure the stability of the church, in the killing of 15 sheep, and placing their heads under the foundations of the pillars of a new bridge over the Aroon in Alsace (J. G. von Hahn, *Alsace und Strassburg*, 1854, I, 101), in the sacrifice of a chicken in place of a girl as a foundation-sacrifice in Bosnia (Haddon, op. cit. p. 364). For further illustrations see Gernard, *Wonders of Norway* II, 200; Alexander, *Ballades de la Renaissance*, 1884, under 'The Monastery of Argis'; Tyler, op. cit. I, 106 f., with references to the custom in Ouhin in Africa, in Polynesia, in South America, and in Teosotim.

It is clear from these myths that the idea of regarding the devil as the actual architect of the bridge is a later development. The early conception that the devil merely allowed the erection of the structure on payment of a solatium passed into the idea that the devil himself was the builder,

and must have his payment accordingly. A still more developed form of the notion of diabolical or infernal power being invoked in the rearing of a bridge is seen in Froissart (*Chron.* i. 301), who tells how, in A.D. 1381, when the Duke of Anjou was homing a strong castle on the coast of Naples, a necromancer (doubtless with the help of the devil) built a bridge which carried ten soldiers abreast, until one that passed over the bridge 'made the signs of the cross on him, then all went to nought, and they that were on the bridge fell into the sea.' A companion tale is told of the rearing and the destruction of the 'Kelpie's Bridge,' or Drochaid-na-Vouha, at the mouth of the Dornoch Firth (see Miss Dempster's 'Folklore of Sutherlandshire' in *FLJ* vi. 172 (1888)), where the exclamation of an admiring countryman, 'God bless the workmen and the work,' caused the infernal labourers to vanish, and the magnificent golden bridge to sink into the waves.

(d) *Survival of the idea of sacrifice to the river-spirit in modern children's games.*—One of the most curious survivals of the ancient custom is seen in many modern children's games. The singing game known as 'London Bridge' has many variants in the different localities where it is played, but fundamentally the theme is the same:

'London Bridge is broken down,
London Bridge is broken down,
London Bridge is broken down,
My fair lady.'

Mrs. Comma, in her *Traditional Games of England, Scotland, and Ireland*, has analyzed this rhyme very thoroughly. She shows that the song describes the difficulty encountered in building the bridge by ordinary means, and that it asks many questions how the structure is to be reared. At last the children seize a 'poor prisoner,' to whom they say, 'Off to prison you must go.' The prisoner in the game is actually 'caught,' and 'released' on payment of a forfeit. The game is thus a curious survival of the old-world notion that a bridge could stand secure only by the death of a 'prisoner,' or, if need be, of his substitute. It is thus allied to the *erkyrie* folk-songs of the Greek Orient. Prof. Léon Pincus has suggested in regard to another children's game, a very popular French 'ronde,' which commences:

'Sur le pont de Nanter,
Sur le pont de Nanter,
Un bal est offert . . .'

that this game relates to 'a ritual dance on the occasion of a human sacrifice to the divinity of the water' (quoted in Haddon, *op. cit.* p. 358).

(e) *Transference of the dread associations of bridges to the 'Bridge of Judgment' in the under world of spirits.*—So firmly lodged in men's minds was the conviction that the erection of a bridge implied some kind of preliminary transaction with supernatural powers by way of satisfying their animosity, that, in view of the life beyond the grave, similar conceptions were held regarding the river of death. In the lower world of Shades will there not be a bridge to be crossed, a bridge spanning the dark stream of death, nay, it may be, the very mouth of hell itself? The idea became a fixed belief in nations far sundered geographically. The river-spirit, who in the upper world demanded an adequate satisfaction in the event of his stream being crossed by a bridge, was represented in the lower regions sometimes by the devil, sometimes by stern guardian-angels. The primitive conception of human sacrifices as an offering to the river-god developed in later ages into the belief that the devil received as his price all who could not successfully pass the ordeal of crossing the narrow bridge.

Salé (*Koran*, 1825, *Proleg.* Diss. § iv. p. 121) describes how integral a part of Muhammadan theology this is. The Muslims hold that those who are to be ad-

mitted into Paradise will take the right hand way, and those who are destined to hell-fire will take the left; but both of them must first pass the bridge (called in Arabic *al-Sirāt*) which is laid over the midst of hell, and is finer than a hair, and sharper than the edge of a sword. It seems very difficult to conceive how any one can stand upon it. The bridge, moreover, is beset on each side with briars and hooked thorns, which will, however, be no impediment to the good, who will pass with wonderful ease and swiftness, like lightning on the wind, Muhammad and the Muslims leading the way. The wicked, what with the slippiness and extreme narrowness of the path, the entangling of the thorns, and the extinction of the light which directed the faithful to Paradise, will soon miss their footing, and fall down headlong into hell, which is gaping beneath them (Pocock, *Specim. Hist. Arab.*, pp. 282-289). Other Muhammadan legends affirm that this awful bridge stretches between the Temple of Jerusalem on the W. and the Mount of Olives on the E., while between lies the Valley of Hell (the Valley of Jehoshaphat). The pious will be upheld, as they cross, by an angel who will hold them by a single lock of the beard ('Shahab'), but the wicked will fall into the Valley of Jehennam beneath. Although the bridge of *al-Sirāt* is not mentioned in the *Qur'an*, it is much elaborated in later Muhammadan eschatology, where it is described, in addition to the details already given, as in length a journey of 3000 years, 1000 ascending, 1000 level, and 1000 descending, while fire shoots up about it a journey of 40 years. While, as already noted, the righteous pass over it like a flash of lightning, less perfect Muslims take longer periods in proportion to their guilt, some requiring 25,000 years to complete the journey. Yet other sources make the bridge to consist of seven arches, each a journey of 3000 years, and during the passage all but the most righteous suffer agonies from the fire of hell (cf. Wolff, *Muhammedanische Eschatologie*, pp. 109, 114 f., 148 f.; al-Ghazālī, *Parle précurseur*, ed. and tr. Gautier, pp. 43, 69-70, 72-73; Rahling, *Beiträge zur Eschatologie des Islam*, pp. 37, 58, 63).

The Muhammadan bridge of *al-Sirāt* was borrowed from the *Parā Chinsufereh*, or 'Bridge of the Decider,' mentioned repeatedly both in the *Avesta* and in Pahlavi literature (Bartholomae, *Altiran. Wörterbuch*, col. 596 f.; Gray, *Musson*, new series, iii. 180 f., 193-195; Modi, *JRASB* xxi. 42-45; Beherman, *Materialien zur Geschichte der indischen Vindalitteratur*, p. 106 f.; Söderblom, *Vie future d'après le mandéisme*, pp. 92-93). This bridge, which stretches from the 'Peak of Judgment' (*Chahā-t Dāstā*), in Airan-Vej, to Albura, is described as follows (*Dāstān-i Dāstān*, xxi. 1-7): 'As it were, that bridge is like a beam of many sides, of whose edges there are some which are broad, and there are some which are thin and sharp; its broad edges are so large that its width is twenty-seven roads, and its sharp sides are so contracted that in thinness it is just like the edge of a razor. And when the souls of the righteous and wicked arrive, it turns to that side which is suitable to their necessities, through the great glory of the creator and the command of him who takes the just account.' The *Parā* concept of the 'Bridge of the Decider' has also been borrowed not only in Mandaeism (Brandt, *Mandäische Religion*, p. 196), but also in the *Yalqut* to Isaiah, § 369 (Kobut, *Jüdische Angelologie und Dämonologie in ihrer Abhängigkeit vom Paraismus*, 1896, p. 70), and perhaps, as Böhlen (*Verwandtschaft der jüdisch-christlichen und der paraischen Eschatologie*, 1902, p. 37 f.) suggests, in 2 Es 7th.

It is not impossible that the bridge of the dead is found in Indian literature as early as the

Upasipads (Bohrman, pp. 117-119), and it is certain that the belief in such a bridge occurs in Chinese Buddhism, and among the Jews of the Caucasus, the Transylvanian Gypsies, the modern Greeks, the Badags of the Nilgiri Hills, the Solomon Islanders, the Gold Coast Negroes, etc. (cf. pp. 89, 109-110), as well as in New Caledonia (cf. above, vol. i, p. 493). The belief thus found in Zoroastrian, Jewish, Muhammedan, and Indian circles, as well as in other parts of the world (see also below), would seem to be a later and modified analogue of that primitive conception of the trial of the soul after death, which is seen in many early religions. We recognize the same underlying features in the Egyptian myth of the weighing of the scales before the bar of Osiris, and in the Greek fable of the judgment of the soul by Minos, Aeacus, and Rhadamanthus in the under world. Cf. Dante, *Hell*, Canto v. 4 ff. (Cary's tr.):

'There Minos stands,
Orbiting with ghastly figure
Who enter strive to escape the ordeal,
Or who condemn, and determine their doom;
According to his verdicts he awards:
In his turn

Each one to judgment passing, speaks, and hears
His fate, thence downward to his dwelling hurled.'

In Tooke's *Pantheon* (Edin. 1791, p. 242) there is a curious and grotesque plate of the Hades of the Greek imagination, with Charon ferrying his fares across the Styx, Cerberus the three-headed dog guarding the passage, while in the distance there is a bridge with three individuals on it, who pass thereby from the flames of hell to the pleasant woods of Elysium. So also in ancient Celtic mythology there was cast over hell a bridge of exceeding narrowness (sometimes a mere cord), which souls were obliged to traverse if they hoped to reach the mansion of light beyond. This was 'The Brig o' Dread, no broader than a thread' (Baring-Gould, *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*, p. 248; Rhys, *Hibbert Lect. on Celtic Heathendom*, p. 450).

There is a Hindu analogue to this belief in the Indian *Baitarpi* (q.v.), or swift River of Hell, flowing with blood and filth, which can be crossed only by holding a cow's tail. Aynaley (*Indian Antiq.*, May 1886) learned that the Hindus of Chamba, in the Panjab, have a bridge over which every corpse must pass on its way to the burning *ghat* beside the river. Though there is a safe road by which the procession may travel, the corpse is invariably carried over a perilous causeway, only 18 inches wide, without a protecting balustrade. In the Solomon Islands there is a kindred belief. At Bogota, in Yeabel, is a little island called Loundu. On the top of the island is a pool of water, Kolapapuro, and hither all departed spirits of men and women must at death repair. Across the pool lies a narrow tree-trunk, and along this bridge all souls must advance. Boiafagina, the Master-Spirit, examines their hands to see if they have the mark cut upon them (a conventional outline of the frigate bird) which admits them to his company. Those who cannot pass the ordeal are hurled from the bridge into the gulf beneath and perish (R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 267). A similar idea is prevalent among the Chinese in Formosa. With them the good pass over a narrow bamboo bridge to a paradise of sensual enjoyment; the wicked fall from the bridge into a bottomless pit of torment (*Forlong, Fables of Man*, i. 240). One of the beliefs of the New Zealanders is to the effect that at death the soul on its way to Reinga (= Hades) has to pass a river called Wauratane, the keeper of which places a plank for him to go over. Sometimes the guardian spirit will not permit him to cross, but with friendly violence drives him back to the world he has quitted, in order that he may take care of the family he has left behind (Taylor, *New Zealand and its Inhabitants*, p. 103). In

another legend of the same race, a tree has its top pulled down by ropes, so that, when released, it rebounds to the sky, and forms a swinging bridge. The soul that is ready for translation mounts the perilous structure, clings to it, and is swung up into heaven (E. M. Clark, *Maori Tales and Legends*, 1900).

The same ideas of a dread river, and a still more dreadful bridge, are to be found in Scandinavian mythology. In the romance of *Hermód*, the hero rides nine nights and days through dark and deep valleys, and sees nothing till he comes to the river Gjöll (= 'the sounding one'), when he stops on to the Gjallar Bridge, which is plated with shining gold. Its guardian maid, Modgud, who asks him his name, says that the day before five arrays of dead men had passed over the bridge, 'but the bridge sounds not less under these alone, and thou hast not the colour of dead men; why ridest thou here on the way of Hel, which lies downward and northward?' (du Chailly, *The Viking Age*, 1890, i. 24; Mallet, *North Antiq.*, 1869, p. 448). Here, as in Vedic India, we find the belief that this bridge of the dead can be crossed in safety by one who, having given a cow to the poor whilst on earth, will find himself provided with a cow at this dread passage, which will carry his soul to comfort across the gulf. In Friesland, the name given to the Milky Way, which was reckoned the Way of Souls, was the Cowpath ('Kaupat') (see Mannhardt, *Die Götterwelt der Deutschen u. Nordischen Völker*, 1900, p. 51). Hence of yore the funeral custom among the Swedes, Danes, and the Upper and Lower Germans, and England, that a cow should follow the coffin to the graveyard. Till recent times this custom was continued on the Continent, being accounted for on the ground that the cow was a gift to the priest for saying masses for the dead man's soul, or for preaching his funeral sermon (Kelly, *Curiosities of Indo-Europ. Tradition and Folklore*, 1893, p. 290). In England, when pagan sacrifices had been abolished, the cow was similarly devoted to pious uses, under the name 'soul-cow' (= soul-cow), or mortuary payment.

But, having passed Gjallar Bridge, and entered Hel (one of the nine Scandinavian under worlds which stood under Yggdrasil, the mystic ash), there was no way to heaven but by a still more precarious bridge. This was the famous *Byfrost*, or the Bridge of the Asas, connecting earth with Asgard, the home of the gods (Bifröst, from Icelandic *bif* = tremble, and *rost* = path, the tremulous or aerial bridge, the rainbow; Mallet, *op. cit.* p. 548; Brewer, *Dict. of Phrase and Fable*, p. 123). According to the *Eddas* (§ 27), by this rainbow bridge from heaven to earth the gods daily descended, passing on horseback over it to sit in judgment in the under world on the souls of men brought before them. The red of the rainbow is the burning fire which keeps back the frost and mountain giants from entering Asgard. But, lest other giants should attempt to scale the heights of heaven by this bridge, at the foot, on Himinbjörg ('heaven mountain'), sits Heimdall, the watchman of the gods, with his terrible dog Garm. (Cf. the 'Great Dog' of the North Amer. Ind. legends, and the fact that the baying of a dog is currently held throughout northern lands to be coincident with, or prophetic of, death.) Heimdall needs less sleep than a bird; he can see equally well by night and by day 100 leagues away; he hears the grass growing and the wool on the sheep's back. But there will come a day when all his watchfulness will be in vain. Strong though the bridge be, and 'constructed with more art than any other work,' it will be stormed and destroyed by the sons of Muspell. These giants, led by Surtur (the 'black'), with a sword brighter than flame, will advance against heaven with irresistible might. In vain will Heimdall blow his Gjallar-

horn, the sound of which will be heard throughout all worlds. The wild horde will swarm up Bifrost on horseback, and attempt to break into Angard. In the awful onslaught the tremulous bridge will break into a thousand pieces, and the end of the world will have come (Mallet, *op. cit.* pp. 95, 408-432; Crichton and Wheaton, *Scandinavian Ancient and Modern*, 1838, i. 91-95).

The conception of the rainbow as a bridge between earth and heaven, over which the gods descend and ascend, is found also among the South Sea Islands (see the adventures of Oro in Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, 1829, i. 213). Perhaps also the 'Floating Bridge of Heaven' in Japanese legends is derived from the same conception (see W. G. Aston, *Shinto, the Way of the Gods*, 1906, p. 87; and Sir E. J. Reed, *Japan: its History, Traditions, and Religions*, 1880, i. 30).

This notion of a bridge in the unseen world over which the soul at death must pass was imported into medieval Christianity from paganism, and became an essential part of its stock of beliefs. In *St. Patrick's Purgatory* (Wright's ed. 1844, ch. iii.) it is told how the pilgrim made a tour through hell in person, how he crossed the narrow bridge that spans the river of death, how he turned about on a great wheel of fire, how he passed the devil's mouth over the awful bridge, and thus at last reached Paradise (Tylor, *op. cit.* ii. 55; Baring-Gould, *op. cit.* p. 237). A bridge is likewise a prominent feature in the medieval *Visions of Alberic*, *St. Paul*, *Tundale*, and *Thurcell*; and the same idea is met with in the 'Lyke-Wake Dirge' (a dirge which continued to be sung in Yorkshire till A.D. 1624), the funeral chant of the North Country, which tells of the passage over the dreadful bridge of death:

From Whinn-moore when thou may pass,
Every night and all;
To Brig o' Dread thou comes at last,
And Christ receive thy soul.
From Brig o' Death when thou art past,
Every night and all;
To Purgatory thou comes at last,
And Christ receive thy soul.

(J. G. Alderson, *Gleanings of Cleveland Diablos*, p. 500; cf. Bruce, *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, ii. 307; Tylor, *op. cit.* i. 285; Kelly, *Indo-European Folklore*, p. 115, who quotes the dirge in full; Bruckner, *Contribution to the Comparative Study of the Medieval Visions of Heaven and Hell*, pp. 54, 75, 88, 92, 97.)

The conception is found even amongst North American Indians, either as one of their primitive myths or as a distorted belief derived from their early intercourse with Roman Catholic peoples. The Hurons and Iroquois tell of some whose spirits, travelling in dreams, have returned to earth to tell what they have encountered in the world of ghosts—the river of the dead with its snake-bridge, or swinging log, at the far end of the bridge the Great Dog, and in the distance the villages of the dead (Tylor, *op. cit.* ii. 50). Brébeuf, an early Jesuit missionary, tells of the Indian belief in the tree-trunk which bridges the river of death, and how some of the dead, as they cross it, are attacked by the Dog that guards it, and made to fall into the abyss (*ib.* p. 94). Yet the myth underwent the same natural modification as it had experienced in the Old World. The passage of the bridge came to signify the ordeal whereby the good and the evil were sifted. Catlin (*North Amer. Ind.* ii. 127) refers to the Choctaw idea that souls at death travel far westwards to where the long, slippery, barkless, pine-log, stretching from hill to hill, bridges over the deep and dreadful river: the good pass safely to a beauteous Indian Paradise; the wicked fall into the abyss of waters, and go to dwell in a dark, hungry, wretched land (for further American Indian data, see above, vol. i. p. 435; for similar beliefs among the Ojibwas and the Minnetarees of North America, see Tylor, *Early Hist. of Mankind*, p. 380; and on the ideas of the

Astons and the Euroks of N. California, as well as the Indians of South America, see Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, 1876, pp. 108, 247 ff.).

In presence, therefore, of a belief, wide-spread and deeply rooted in the mediæval mind, that there existed a bridge in the under world over which every soul must pass, it is not surprising that men should have formed the theory that at this bridge there takes place a conflict between the devils on the one hand and the good angels on the other for the possession of each man's soul. This was an integral part of the Parsi faith. When a soul arrives at Chinvat Bridge the gods and the unclean spirits fight for possession of it. If it be one of the righteous, it is defended by other pure souls, and by the dogs that guard the bridge (*Fargard* vii. 55). A curious reminiscence of this is seen in a children's game, which is played all over Europe and America, and is everywhere fundamentally the same. Newell has described it as it is played in America (*Games and Songs of American Children*, New York, 1884, p. 304), and shows how it is a variant of the game described above (p. 352) as 'London Bridge'. Haddon (*op. cit.* p. 367) points out that in Swabia the two keepers of the 'Golden Bridge' are called respectively the 'Devil' and the 'Angel'; in France the game is known as 'Heaven and Hell'; in Italy the name of the sport is 'Open the Gates'. The gates are those of the Inferno and Paradise. St. Peter is the keeper of the one, St. Paul of the other. 'When the destiny of the last child is decided, the two girls who represent the keepers of the bridge break their arch of lifted hands and move in different directions, followed by their subjects, while the cries and shrieks of the players condemned to the Inferno contrast with the pathetic songs and sweet cadences of those destined to the happiness of Paradise.' He further points out that the game is mentioned by Rabelais (c. A.D. 1533) under the name of the 'Fallen Bridge'. In German versions the keepers are called 'Devil and Angel', 'King and Emperor', or 'Sun and Moon'. In this latter form the game has been one of the few kept up by the Germans of Pennsylvania, who call it 'The Bridge of Holland' (*Die holländische Brücke*). An Irish version of it obliges the little girls to dress as angels, while one personates the devil. The bridge, which is actually constructed of sticks and boards, is made to fall repeatedly, and this is ascribed to the devil. At last a victim is caught, and is made to undergo a test whether he will be the devil's captive or not, by being obliged to walk on a straight line drawn on the ground. And thus we find the idea of the necessity of a tribute to the river-spirit in the case of the erection of a bridge—an idea current in the very earliest ages of the world—perpetuated to-day amongst ourselves in the games which our children play.

(ii) THE SEMI-SACRED CHARACTER OF THE BRIDGE, SUBSEQUENT TO THE PLACATING OF THE RIVER-SPIRIT.—This is the third stage in the growth of opinion. Once the sacrifice has been offered, and the river-spirit or devil been placated, the bridge itself takes on an air of sanctity. Can it be some kindred idea which lies at the root of the Japanese custom of bridge-divination (*Asakura*)? The end-post of a bridge is a *wa-bashira*, i.e. a male pillar or phallus, and, as persons pass over the bridge and engage in conversation, stray words overheard from their talk are interpreted by the inquirer, who sits beside the post, as an indication from the gods of what is desired to be learned. The bridge is a place where it is believed 'sacred' influences are felt (see W. G. Aston, *Shinto, the Way of the Gods*, p. 341).

It is probably from this sacrosanctity of bridges that we may find:—

1. The origin of the name 'pontifex' as the primitive 'priest-engineer'.—It stands to reason that the appeasing of an offended river-spirit could be accomplished only by one who was cognizant of the right method of propitiating the divinity. The rite must be conducted by him who was most deeply instructed on these profound subjects, in other words, by the priest. He alone could interpret to his fellow-men the demands of the river-god, and he alone could prescribe the proper ritual for appeasing him. But in primitive times not only religious but also almost all technical and scientific knowledge was the exclusive possession of the priestly caste. Public works requiring skill in mathematics, engineering, and mechanical contrivances, were therefore nearly all the product of priestly brains and priestly hands. What more natural, then, than that the name 'pontifex,' 'bridge-builder' (from *pons* and *facio*; see Smith's *Gr. and Rom. Ant.* 339 f.), should arise, suggesting in itself the twin functions of a servant of religion and a civil engineer? This simple explanation of a word round which much mystery has gathered is probably the true one. The priest whose business it was to placate the river-divinity was originally also the architect of the bridge; and in later years, when the two functions were separated, and there came to be civil engineers who were not priests, the name still clung to the original possessor of the word, and hence we have 'pontifex,' 'pontifical,' 'pontiff,' all of priestly significance (cf. Milton for the old connotation of the word):

'Now had they brought the work by woodens art
Pontifical, a ridge of priestly rest
Over the vast abyss'

[*Poet's Lat.*, 2. 382.]

2. This furnishes a reason why the *Pons Sublicus* was always of wood.—The priestly mind is essentially conservative, and the first form of the bridge was jealously preserved through all succeeding ages. We have every reason to believe that this bridge was the first which spanned the Tiber. It was the erection of this wooden structure by some priest-engineer in pre-historic times (tradition assigns it to the reign of Ancus Martius [Livy, i. 23]), who defied and appeased the river-spirit, which originated the title 'pontifex.' But no sooner was the bridge successfully reared, and Father Tiber placated by some sacrifice, than the structure acquired a semi-sacred character, and was ever afterwards regarded as holy (see Dionys. ii. 73, iii. 45; Plut. *Numa*, 9; Serv. *ad Virg. Æn.* ii. 166). The idea of its holiness was perpetuated through succeeding centuries by the fact that its upkeep and repair were undertaken solely by the College of Pontifices, of whom the head was the Pontifex Maximus; while its sanctity is further attested in that neither bolt nor bar nor nail of iron entered into its construction, which was entirely of oak (see the passages quoted in Jordan's *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, 1886, i. i. 396; Varro, *Ling. Lat.* v. 63; Pliny, *HN* xxxvi. 18; Tac. *Hist.* i. 36; Seneca, *de Vita Beata*, 26). The conservative priestly mind could tolerate no change. 'In the history of man iron is a modern innovation as compared to bronze and still more to wood and stone; therefore, like every innovation, it is offensive to the gods' (see Frazer, *JFA* xiv. [1885] p. 187 note, who adduces many examples of the prejudices and hatred with which iron is regarded by the old deities in countries as far westered as Scotland and Korea, Cappadocia and Morocco; he refers also to the Hebrew practice, Dt 27). It was therefore a religious notion, traceable to the innate conservatism of the priestly mind, which maintained the practice of

allowing no iron to invade the virgin purity of this old wooden bridge.

If this way of accounting for the sacred character of the *Pons Sublicus* be the correct one, a number of competing theories are ruled out of court. Mommsen supposes that it was owing to the political exigencies of the Roman commonwealth that the bridge was always kept in its primitive wooden condition—that the bridge might be the more easily broken down at the approach of an enemy. Undoubtedly the legend of how Rome was saved by Horatius Cocles keeping back the Etruscan enemy under Lars Porsenna, while the Romans hewed down the wooden structure behind him, lends countenance to this view (Livy, ii. 10; a fine bronze medallion of Cocles and the Sublican bridge of the time of Antoninus Pius is figured in Frobenius' *Med. de l'Empire Rom.* 1873, p. 60). J. E. Middleton (*Ancient Rome in 1880, 1882*, p. 484) and Dennis (*Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, i. 14) adopt similar views, the latter asserting that, as the Tiber was the natural rampart of Rome, the *Pons Sublicus* was kept as a wooden drawbridge until all fear of invasion was removed by the conquest of Etruria and by the downfall of Hannibal. Thereafter, stone bridges were erected, as the principle of the arch had been known for centuries before, and had been applied to the construction of the Cloaca Maxima (see also Marice Crawford, *De Roma Immortalis*, i. 6, ii. 137). But this theory fails to account for the perpetuation of the practice of retaining the bridge in its primitive wooden form and avoiding the use of iron. It is therefore the religious, rather than the political, reason, to which we are confined, as the true explanation.

3. Transference of the name 'Pontifex' to the pagan and Christian Emperors and latterly to the Popes.—With the passing of the Republic into the Empire, the office of Pontifex Maximus was conferred on Augustus (13 B.C.) by the vote of the Senate; and thus the supreme sanction of religion lay in the grasp of him who wielded the Imperial sword. It was held that under no circumstances could there be more than one Pontifex Maximus, and this rule was never violated until Papius Maximus and Balbinus were named joint-Emperors by the Senate (A.D. 238). The rule having been broken, it was never afterwards observed. Frequently the junior colleague of an Emperor was styled Pontifex Maximus equally with his senior, and the legend occurs on their medals and coins. When Christianity became the official religion of the Roman State, the Christian Emperors carried over the title into their adopted religion. Seven Christian Emperors assumed the name, ensigns, and prerogatives of Sovereign Pontiff, until finally Gratian refused to wear the Pontifical robe (see Gibbon, ii. 304 [Bury's ed.], and note on the testimony of Zosimus).

The next step was the transference of the title to him who claimed to be spiritual head of the Christian Church, though the exact date at which the name was first applied to the Bishop of Rome cannot now be traced. (There is a very doubtful affirmation in Tuke and Malletson, *Handbook to Christian and Eccles. Rome*, iv. 334, that the title was first given to Pope Leo I. (A.D. 440-461).) The first prominent application of the title is from the pen of Tertullian (*de Pudicitia*, c. 1) in an ironical sentence addressed to the Roman Pontiff: 'Audie etiam edictam esse propositum, et quidem preceptorium. Pontifex scilicet Maximus, quod est episcopus episcoporum, edicit.' The correspondence of Cyprian shows no trace of the recognition by the African Church of the exclusive right of the Bishop of Rome to the title. Indeed, in a petition to Boniface, Bishop of Carthage, A.D. 486, the monks there address him as 'Christi venerandus Pontifex' (Thomassin, ed. Bourassé, ii. 286). Similarly Hilary of Arles was styled 'summus Pontifex' by Eucherius, Bishop of Lyons (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* i. 773). The term is first applied directly to a bishop of Rome, when Anastasius, on the ordination of Pelagius I. to that dignity, wrote (A.D. 555): 'et ordinaverunt eum pontificem' (Migne, *op. cit.* cxxviii. 611). There is abundant evidence (adduced in Smith's *Dict. Christ. Ant.* ii. art. 'Pontifex') to show that in all the succeeding centuries down to the 11th, many prelates in different countries of Europe

were styled 'Pontifex,' and that 'Maximus' was added where the see was more important and distinguished. But gradually, with the growth of the Papacy in power and worldliness, the title was confined in the Pope; and from the 11th cent. to the present day the name which was originated, perhaps by Ancus Martius in the early ages of the world's history, to designate the engineer-theologian who bridged the Tiber and placated the offended river-spirit, has been limited to the Pontiff who to-day sits in the Vatican, and overlooks the spot where the Pons Sublicius once stood.

4. The Church assuming control of bridges.—Bridges finally became sacred objects. The Church took bridges into her sacred keeping, and they became surrounded with many religious associations. The German Emperors of the Holy Roman Empire had to reiterate thrice a royal oath to maintain the liberties of Rome, 'at the bridge, the gate, and on the stairs of the Vatican' (Gibbon, vii. 311 [Bury's ed.]; Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter* [Eng. tr.], iv. 59). Bridge-building became a part of religion, a pious and meritorious work before God. In 1189 a regular Order of Hospitallers was founded in Southern France, under Pope Clement III., by St. Benezet, under the name of the 'Bridge-Builders' (*Frères Pontifes, Frères Pontifices*). The object of the Order was the building of hospices and bridges at points where pilgrims crossed the large rivers, and for the ferrying of pilgrims over the streams. A hospital of this Order at Avignon at an early period built the celebrated bridge of which four arches still survive. As a badge they wore a pick upon their breast. Their constitution was modelled upon that of the Knights of St. John; and as the association gradually dissolved in the 15th cent., most of their number found their way into that Order (Kurtz, *Church Hist.* [Eng. tr.] ii. 76; Grégoire, *Recherches historiques sur les congrégations hospitalières des frères pontifes*, Paris, 1816).

To leave money to build a bridge came to be reckoned an act of great piety. In many cases the funds bequeathed were administered by priest-engineers, whose names have been permanently associated with the structures which they erected (cf. the origin of London Bridge built by the priests of St. Mary Overie from money dedicated by the daughter of a ferryman [Allen, *Hist. and Ant. of London*, ii. 454 f.]). Sometimes, however, the bridges of the Middle Ages were erected from the sale of indulgences. Hutchinson (*Hist. of Cumberland*, i. 283) records: 'In the year 1260 a bridge at Great Salkeld was taken away by floods; for the repairing and re-edifying of which Bishop Walton published an indulgence of 40 days.' The Bishop of Durham (1311-1316) was fond of this practice, as the registry of his episcopal chancery shows. There are frequent entries such as the following: 'His lordship grants 40 days' indulgence to all who will draw from the treasure that God has given them valuable and charitable aid towards the building and repair of Botynton Bridge' (*Registrum Palatinum Dunelmense*, ed. Hardy, in *Rolls Series*, 1875, i. 615, 641 [quoted in Jassard, *English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages*, p. 41]). Similar cases might be cited from Devonshire and other records (see Walford, 'Bridges, their Hist. and Literary Associations' in *TRHS* [new series], 1884, p. 364). Prof. Hume Brown gives the facts for Scotland (*Scotland in the Time of Queen Mary*, 1904, p. 60).

Most of the bridges erected by priests had a chapel attached, built as part of the structure. Nearly all the early bridges on the Continent and in Britain were adorned with these chapels, e.g. that at Wakefield over the Calder in the time of

Edward III.; that over the Wye at Monmouth, still extant; that over the Avon at Bath; and the first stone London Bridge erected in 1206, on which the chapel was dedicated to St. Thomas à Becket (see Walford and Jassard, *opp. cit.*). As a curious perpetuation of the ancient Roman idea that the duty of keeping the bridge intact was a religious obligation resting on the sacerdotal orders, the priests attached to these mediæval chapels were enjoined, as an indispensable part of their office, to keep the bridge in repair (Allen, *London*, ii. 458 note; see also Ritson, *Gammer Gurton's Garland*). Perhaps the most remarkable of all these mediæval chapels is that at Droithewick, in Cheshire, where the high road passes through the chapel, and divides the congregation from the reading-desk and pulpit (Postbrooke, *Cyc. of Ant.* p. 147; Nash, *Worcestershire*, i. 220). These bridge-chapels were not used exclusively for devotional purposes. The chapel of the old Norman bridge over the Aire at Leeds was utilized till the middle of the 18th cent. as a cloth market, and the traders were summoned to the spot by the ringing of the chapel bell. In 1276 an ordinance of the Common Council of the City of London forbade the holding of a market on London Bridge. But, on the other hand, Philip the Fair of France in 1304 ordained that the Public Exchange of Paris should be held on the Great Bridge there, as it was anciently accustomed to be (see *Gephyrologus* [1751], the basis of Ross' *Cyclopædia; of Arts, Sciences, and Lit.* 1819). As a still further development of this sacredness attaching to bridges, the ancient Danes are said to have erected bridges as a pious memorial of their deceased friends. Olaf Wormius in his *Monumentorum Danicorum*, 648 (A.D. 1643), states that two or three persons built a bridge on the island of Foesen in Denmark, not only to preserve their own names to posterity, but also to commemorate that of Jothaimnt, who had converted them to Christianity. Others have erected bridges to express their gratitude for rescue from drowning.

Thus with the placating of the river-spirit, the defeat of the devil, and the hallowing of their structure by their association with the monastic orders, mediæval bridges eventually became shrines, and with the erection of chapels on them, the process of rehabilitation was complete. The ill-omened structure of antiquity grew into the holy and sacred sanctuary of the Middle Ages, and memories of their religious character have lingered to the present day. Bridges are no longer objects of censure, hated of God and devil alike, but holy spots, across which even material blessings may pass. It is over a golden bridge at Bingen that German tradition asserts that the spirit of Charlemagne annually crosses the Rhine, whenever a season of unusual plenty betokens that the vineyards and cornfields of Germany have been supernaturally benefited. Thus Longfellow sings (*Sonnets on Autumn*): 'Thou standest, like Imperial Charlemagne, upon thy Bridge of Gold'; and again (*The Golden Legend*, Canto v.):

'God's blessing on the architects who built
The bridges o'er swift rivers and abysses,
Before impassable to human feet,
No less than on the builders of cathedrals,
Whose massive walls are bridges thrown across
The dark and terrible abysses of Death.
Well has the name of Pontifex been given
Unto the Church's head, as the chief builder
And architect of the invisible bridge
That leads from earth to heaven.'

LETTER-BOX.—The writer is acquainted with no work which deals with the whole subject. He has to express his indebtedness to Dr. J. G. Frazer for kind references to other literature bearing on certain aspects of the question, besides the excellent note referred to above in his article in *JFA* stv. [1898]

p. 102. W. Warden Fowler's *Roman Patrons of the Period of the Republic*, 1893, well repays very careful study, though the writer of this article has felt obliged to dissent from his verdict on the ceremony at the Fens Gethich. Much valuable information will be found in Maasshardt's *Rechtsbuch*, 1877; Grimm's *Deutsche Mythologie*, 1864, and Taylor's *Primitive Culture*, 1891. The literature on 'foundation-myths' is cited in the text. Mrs. Gomme's work on *Traditional Games*, 1894-95, is full of suggestive material, which has been worked over by Hadden, *Study of Man*, 1906. Many references to other literature are given in Schornau, *Religion der Germanen*, Leipzig, 1893, pp. 109-112.

G. A. FRANK KNIGHT.

BRIEFS.—See BULLS AND BULLS.

BRINDABAN (Skt. *brindavana*, 'grove of the sacred basil tree,' *ecumenicum sanctum*).—A town situated on the right bank of the river Jumna, in the Mathura District of the United Provinces, lat. 27° 23' 30" N.; long. 77° 45' 10" E. The place is held sacred as the scene of many adventures in the life of Krishna. It has been computed that there are as many as one thousand temples within the limits of the town, of which four are of special interest—those of Govinda Deva and Gopinatha, dedicated to Krishna, as a god of cattle and companion of the Gopi milkmaids; Madan Mohan and Jugal Kishor, representing him in his youthful and erotic character. The temple dedicated to Govinda Deva, built about A.D. 1500, is the most impressive building that Hindu religious art has ever produced, at least in Northern India. 'The body of the building,' says Groves (p. 241), 'is in the form of a Greek cross, the nave being 100 ft. in length and the breadth across the transepts the same. The central compartment is surmounted by a dome of singularly graceful proportions; and the four arms of the cross are roofed by a wagon vault of pointed form, not, as is usual in Hindu architecture, composed of overlapping brackets, but constructed of trees radiating arches as in our Gothic cathedrals.' The design has suggested to some authorities the influence of the Jesuit missionaries which was considerable in the court of the Emperor Akbar. If this were really the case, 'the temple would be one of the most eclectic buildings in the world, having a Christian ground-plan, a Hindu elevation, and a roof of modified Saracenic character.' But it is most improbable that Jesuit missionaries assisted in planning a Hindu temple, and, as Groves remarks, there are earlier Hindu temples which display a similar design. Fergusson regards this as 'one of the most interesting and elegant temples in India, and the only one, perhaps, from which an European might borrow a few hints.' The temple of Madan Mohan is in a ruinous condition, and the idol has been removed to Karauli in Rajputana. That in honour of Jugal Kishor was built in the reign of the Emperor Jahangir, about A.D. 1627. Among the modern temples, that erected by the Seth bankers of Mathura is one of the most remarkable. It follows the Madras style, with the lofty *gopuras*, or gate-towers, characteristic of the great lanes of Southern India. It was built during the years 1845-1851. It contains a *ratha*, or processional car, of the god, an enormous wooden tower in several stages, with monstrous effigies in the corners, in which he is taken once a year in procession from his temple to a neighbouring garden, where a pavilion is erected for his reception (Groves, 290 f.). Every event in the life of Krishna is the occasion of a local festival, of which Groves (ib. 297) enumerates forty-six.

Literature.—Groves, *Mathura, a District Memoir* (1885), ch. viii., where illustrations of the more important sacred buildings will be found. The Govinda Deva temple has been described by Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (1893), p. 622 f.

W. CROOK.

BROTHERHOOD (Artificial).

[P. J. HAMILTON-GIBSON.]

1. 'Relationship' in ordinary acceptation means connexion by birth or marriage. Accordingly, it is usual to describe blood brotherhood, adoption, and the ties formed by sponsorship, fosterage, and the like as 'artificial relationships.' Nor, indeed, is this description open to serious objection, provided that we do not leave two facts out of sight—the fact that, in the process of their evolution, artificial relationships do not always follow the same course as natural relationships, and the fact that what seems artificial to us may, and often does, seem perfectly natural to uncivilized man.

We propose to treat the subject under the following heads:

- I. The ceremony establishing brotherhood.
 - (a) Where blood is employed (H 2-17).
 - (b) Where blood is not employed (H 18-27).
- II. Where the relation is due to force of circumstances (H 28-31).
- III. The institution among the Southern Slavs (H 32-33).
- IV. The institution among the Romans and Byzantines and in modern Greece (H 34).
- V. Where the compact is entered into with women, dead persons, supernatural beings, or animals (H 35-40).
- VI. What persons are bound by the compact (H 41-46).
- VII. What purposes are served by the compact (H 46-50).
- VIII. What legal consequences flow from the compact (H 51-53).
- IX. General observations on the nature and history of the institution (H 54-55).

I. The ceremony.—(a) *Where blood is employed*. 1. Livingstone (*Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*, London, 1857, p. 480) describes the rite as practised by the Balonda and shows us its most usual characteristics. 'The hands of the parties are joined . . . ; small incisions are made on the clasped hands, on the pits of the stomach of each, and on the right cheeks and foreheads. A small quantity of blood is taken off from these points in both parties by means of a stalk of grass. The blood from one person is put into one pot of beer, and that of the second into another; each then drinks the other's blood, and they are supposed to become perpetual friends or relations. During the drinking of the beer, some of the party continue beating the ground with short clubs, and utter sentences by way of ratifying the treaty. The men belonging to each then finish the beer. The principals in the performance of "Kassadi" are henceforth considered blood-relations, and are bound to disclose to each other any impending evil.' In some cases the parties drink one another's blood undiluted. Thus, among the people of Rabunga, the 'brothers' bent their heads, and sucked the blood from each other's arms (Henry M. Stanley, *Through the Dark Continent*, London, 1878, ii. 206); and a like practice prevails among the Rokks of Flores (A. Bastian, *Indonesien oder d. Inseln d. malayischen Archipel*, pt. iv: 'Borneo u. Celebes,' Berlin, 1880, p. 85), in Syria (H. C. Trumbull, *The Blood Covenant*, London, 1887, p. 5) and Madagascar (W. Ellis, *History of Madagascar*, London, 1838, i. 187-188), among the Karus of Burma (R. M. Lather ap. Trumbull, *op. cit.* p. 313), the Wanyero (J. A. Grant, *A Walk across Africa*, London, 1884, p. 271), and the people of Comana (Jean sire de Joinville, *Histoire de S. Louis . . . enrichie de nouvelles observations et dissertations historiques . . . par Charles du Fresnoy, sieur du Camp*, Paris, 1606, p. 84). Baldwin, Count of Flanders, reproached the Greeks with so far accommodating themselves to the manners of the barbarians, with whom they made alliances, as to drink their blood (ib. *Din. xxi.*); and Tacitus (*Ann. xii. 47* [Church and Brodribb's tr.]) says of the Iberians and Armenians that it was the custom for their princes, whenever they joined alliance, to unite their right hands and bind the thumbs together in a tight knot; then, when

the blood had flowed into the extremities, they let it escape by a slight puncture and sucked it in turn. Further, Herodotus (I. 74 [Rawlinson's tr.]) tells us that, when they took oath, the Medes and Lydians made a slight flesh wound in their arms from which each sucked a portion of the other's blood. Among some of the Australian tribes 'the drawing and also the drinking of blood on certain special occasions is associated with the idea that those who take part in the ceremony are thereby bound together in friendship and obliged to assist one another' (Spencer and Gillen, *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, London, 1904, p. 398; *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, London, 1900, p. 461). The parties to the rite drink one another's blood, or sprinkle one another with their blood (see below, § 49). So, too, in ancient Ireland, parties to a league are said to have ratified it by drinking each other's blood—a custom derived from the heathen, who were wont to seal their treaties with blood (Geraldus Cambrensis, *Typegr. Hiberniae*, iii. 22).

3. Sometimes the blood of the 'brothers' is mixed with some other liquid—water, wine, beer, or spirits; and of this practice instances are supplied by the natives of Timor (H. O. Forbes, *A Naturalist's Wanderings in the Eastern Archipelago, 1878-1883*, London, 1885, p. 452) and of Bobol (M. de Zúñiga, *An Historical View of the Philippine Islands* [tr. by Mayer], London, 1814, i. 67; see also *Relation by Lezana: 'The Philippine Islands'*, ed. by Blair and Robertson, Cleveland, Ohio, 1903, v. 161-163), of Amboina, of Leti, Moa, and Lakor, of the Babar Archipelago, of Watar, of Coram, and of Tanembar and Timorlaut (J. G. F. Riedel, *De dwijk en broederschap tussen twee volken op Papua*, The Hague, 1896, pp. 41, 306, 342, 446, 128-129, 204), by the Bali of North Cameroon (Hutter, 'Der Abschluss von Blutverwandtschaft u. Vorträgen bei d. Negeren d. Grasslands in Nordkamerun' in *Globe*, 1889, lxxv. 1), the Balonda (D. Livingstone, *op. cit.* p. 428; H. Wumman, *etc.*, in *Innere Afrika*, Leipzig, 1888, p. 181), the Wanyamwasi (J. Kohler, 'Das Bantusrecht in Ostafrika' in *Zeits. f. vergl. Rechtsw.* xv. 41), the Kimbunda (L. Magyar, *Reisen in Süd-Afrika in d. Jahren 1849 bis 1857*, tr. from the Hungarian by J. Hunfalvy, Budapest and Leipzig, 1859, i. 201-202), the Kayans (H. St. John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East*, London, 1903, i. 116), and the Scythians (Herod. iv. 70).

4. The 'brothers' do not always drink each other's blood. Sometimes they sprinkle it over one another (Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes*, pp. 508, 372; see below, § 49). It is smeared by the Karons over their lips (Luther, *op. cit.* p. 313), while the Wachaga wipe it on a piece of flesh, which each of the parties thrusts several times into the mouth of the other (Kohler, *op. cit.* p. 40). A somewhat similar practice is found in Ubebe (J. Thomson, *Te the Central African Lakes and Back*, London, 1881, i. 243-244). In Uganda and Bukoba each of the 'brothers' dips a coffee-bean from a pod containing two in his blood, and presents it on the palm of his hand to the other, who must take it up with his lips (J. Roscoe, 'Further Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Baganda' in *JAI*, 1902, xxii. 68; Kohler, *op. cit.* pp. 40-41). And, among the Kayans of Borneo, the blood of the parties is either mixed with some other liquid and drunk, or is rolled up with a cigarette and inhaled with the smoke (H. St. John, *op. cit.* i. 116).

5. At Mrah, a coffee bean (C. T. Wilson and R. W. Felkin, *Uganda and the Egyptian Sudan*, London, 1882, ii. 41); among the Swahili, a hen's liver (R. Niess, 'Die Personen- u. Familienrecht d. Swahili' in *Zeits. f. vergl. Rechtsw.* xvi.

240); and among the Wamaramo, Wasaguro, Wasagara (H. P. Burton, *The Lake Regions of Central Africa*, London, 1880, i. 114), and Masai (M. Meeker, *Die Masai*, Berlin, 1904, p. 101), a piece of flesh, are eaten, smeared with the 'brother's' blood. Among some of the tribes to the south of the Welle, a piece of sugar-cane, with which the blood of the parties has been wiped off, is chewed and the fibres are blown over the wound. At the same time each 'brother' declares the motives which induce him to enter into the compact, and the obligations which he binds himself to perform, and imprecates evil on the breaker of the bond (W. Junker, *Travels in Africa during the Years 1879-1883*, London, 1891, p. 405; see below, § 56).

6. This last instance introduces us to the performance of the rite by way of inoculation, which in many cases takes the place of blood-drinking. Grant (*op. cit.* p. 108 f.) gives the following description of this form as practised by the Wanyamwasi:

'The process between Hamby and the Sultan's son, Koon-ung, may be mentioned. My consent having been given, a mat is spread, and a confidential party or surgeon attends on each. All four squat, as if to have a game at what before them are two clean knives, a little grease, and a spear-bone; a cut is made under the ribs of the left side of each party, a drop of blood put on a leaf and exchanged by the surgeons, who rub it with butter twice into the wound with the leaf, which is now torn in pieces and thrown over the "brothers" heads. A solemn address is made by the older of the assistants, and they conclude the ceremony by rubbing their own sides with butter, shaking hands, and wishing each other success. Ten rounds of ammunition are then fired off, a compliment from each of the four drums is sounded, and they parade the village all the afternoon. An I granda had the magician of the Sultan, made brotherhood with Babah, Illi cool, by cutting marks on his chest and rubbing in the fat of lions.'

Similar usages are said to prevail among the Wajji (Burton, *op. cit.* i. 114), on the Congo, and in other parts of Africa (H. M. Stanley, *The Congo*, London, 1885, i. 285, ii. 24, 28, *Through the Dark Continent*, i. 408; H. Ward, *Ethnographical Notes relating to the Congo Tribes*, 1886, *JAI* xxiv. 201; V. L. Cameron, *Across Africa*, London, 1877, i. 333).

7. In Scandinavia, men made brotherhood by letting their blood flow together in a footprint and mingle where it fell ('The Long Lay of Brunhild, in *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, G. Vigfusson and F. York Powell, Oxford, 1863, i. 208), or by 'going under the turf,' a ceremony of which an account is given in *The Story of Giall the Outlaw* (from the Icelandic by G. W. Dasent, Edinburgh, 1886, p. 23). We are told that Giall and the three men who were to make oath along with him

'cut up a sod of turf in each wise that both its ends were still fast to the earth, and propped it up by a spear, covered with runn, so tall that a man might lay his hand on the socket of the spear-head. Under this yoke they were all four to pass. . . . Now they blood each a vein, and let their blood fall together on the mould whence the turf had been cut up, and all touch it; and all afterwards fell on their knees, and were to take hands, and swear to avenge each the other as though he were his brother, and to call all the gods to witness.'

Several explanations of this curious ceremony have been suggested. In Jacob Grimm's opinion (*Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, Göttingen, 1861, p. 119), the 'brothers,' by placing themselves underneath the turf and falling on their knees, appear to indicate their abasement before the Higher Powers, and their solemn purification from the world. Konrad Maurer (*Die Balsdrung d. norwegischen Stammes zum Christenthum*, Munich, 1855-1856, ii. 170-171, 229) regards the rite as an ordeal of which the purpose was to secure the performance of the promises made. And this view seems to receive some support from the following passage:

'This was then the ordeal at that time, that men should pass under the earth-collar; that is, a turf was carried out of a field. The ends of the turf shall be fast in the field, and that man who was to undergo the ordeal should pass thereunder. . . . So was he cleansed who went under the earth-collar, if the turf fell and

upon him' (*The Story of the Land of the Dead*, trans. into English by E. Proctor, London, 1904, ch. xviii).

M. Pappenheim (*Die altägyptischen Sebstbildnisse*, Breslau, 1893, p. 18 ff.), however, points out that this ceremony was used not only in making brothers and in ordeals, but in cases where an offence had been committed and the offender was required to humble himself by going under the turf, as a condition precedent to the acceptance of a composition. He holds that one explanation will not suffice for all three cases, and he explains the use of the ceremony in making brothers—the mixing of the blood with the earth—as symbolical of the common origin of the brothers. They are children of one womb—born of one mother, the earth (see also Vigfusson and Powell, *op. cit.* i. 423).

A. Muir (*Life of Mahomet*, London, 1866, i. p. cccvii) tells us that, in a dispute among the Korasah, the men of one party solemnised their compact by dipping their hands in blood, while their opponents dipped their hands in perfume and rubbed them upon the Ka'ba. Robertson Smith (*Essays and Studies in Early Arabia*, new ed. London, 1903, pp. 57–60) says that at Mecca in historical times a life and death covenant was solemnised by an oath, each of the parties to which dipped his hands in a pan of blood and tasted its contents; and he expresses the view that these forms are variations of one and the same rite—the rite in which the contracting parties drank or tasted one another's blood. He shows (*op. cit.* p. 59, note 1) that in some instances water or fruit-juice was substituted for blood; and in this connexion it is interesting to notice Herodotus' (iv. 172 [Rawlinson's tr.]) statement regarding the Naemonians that, 'when they pledge their faith to one another, each gives the other to drink out of his hand; if there be no liquid to be had, they take up dust from the ground, and put their tongues to it' (cf. W. Crooke, 'The Hill Tribes of the Central Indian Hills,' in *JAI* xxviii. 941). It may be that the practice of ratifying an agreement to take part in a common undertaking by shaking hands dipped in blood (Hector Boethius, *Sociorum Historia*, Paris, 1590, lib. ii. fol. xviii b; cf. § 15 below), and that of drinking human blood, attributed to conspirators at Rome (Hall, *de Conj. Cat.* 22; Pint. *Vit. Publicolae* iv. [both statements are regarded as unreliable by T. Mommsen, *Römische Forschungen*, Berlin, 1864, i. 332, a. 1]), and in China (Trumbull, *op. cit.* p. 43), are truly adaptations of the primitive institution of 'making brothers' (see below, § 15).

g. With the form of the rite in which the hands are dipped in blood Jacob Grimm (*op. cit.* p. 194) compares the dipping of weapons in blood, mentioned by Herodotus (iv. 70 [Rawlinson's tr.]) in the following passage:

'Oaths among the Scythians are accompanied with the following ceremonies: a large earthen bowl is filled with wine, and the parties to the oath, wounding themselves slightly with a knife or so awl, drop some of their blood into the wine; then they plunge into the mixture a scymitar, some arrows, a battle-axe, and a javelin, all the while repeating prayers; lastly the two contracting parties drink each a draught from the bowl, as do also the chief men among their followers.'

So, too, the Benuea, in making alliances or in taking solemn vows, 'dip their weapons into a mixture of which blood forms the principal ingredient' (T. G. Newbold, *Political and Statistical Account of the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca*, London, 1839, ii. 305). Lucian (*Toxaris*, 37), in his account of the Scythians' form, gives the additional fact that the parties, having dipped the points of their swords in the blood, held them together. It would seem that this touching of swords signified the union of the parties; and this view is corroborated by the curious practice of scraping the spear-shafts and musket-stocks of the 'brothers' on a banana-leaf, and dropping these

scrapings, with a pinch of salt and a little dust from a pod, upon the wounds (Stanley, *The Congo*, ii. 24, 25; cf. Hutter, *op. cit.* p. 12, as to the Bali of North Cameroon, and see § 13 below). It seems that scrapings of wood from the stool of a chief add strength to an oath (A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast of West Africa*, London, 1887, p. 108). A similar explanation appears to apply to the ceremony of sword-biting practised by the Kanowit Dayaka. According to St. John (*op. cit.* i. 55),

'A ... was ... between representatives of two tribes, who, after calling down the vengeance of the spirits on those who broke the treaty, plunged their spears into the animal, and then exchanged weapons. Drawing their knives, they each bit the blade of the other's, and so completed the affair.'

So, too, the Garos swear to observe peace by biting each other's sword, and seal the compact by putting food into each other's mouth and pouring bear down each other's throat (E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, London, 1872, p. 62). It is of interest to note in this connexion that the Norman lawyers explained the word 'wapsentake' in reference 'to the formal recognition of the local magistrate by touching his arms' (W. Stubbs, *The Constitutional History of England*, Oxford, 1865, i. 96). This ceremony is described in a law of Edward the Confessor (c. 33) as follows:

'Ipse vero crucis in hac sua ab omibus circumstantibus ...

On Cange (*Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis*, ed. L. Faur, Nior, 1823, s.v. 'Arma' [Arma mutare]) understands that it was thus that the subjects of the early kings of England made themselves 'fratres conjurati,' bound to cherish and protect one another and to join in preserving the kingdom from its enemies. G. Tamassia (*L'Affratellamento*, Turin, 1860, p. 32, note 2), however, cites authority to show that what is described is not an *armorum conjunctio*, but a *modus per strepitum concussorum armorum plebsita condendi* (see Grimm, *op. cit.* p. 770 f.; Tac. *German.* xi., *Hist.* v. 15).

10. Sometimes the parties to the compact hold the ends of a forked branch, while one of them cuts it in two, or while a medicine-man draws their blood (Stanley, *The Congo*, ii. 23, 104). It is observed by C. A. L. M. Schwaner (*Borneo, Beschrijving van het Stroomgebied van d. Berito*, Amsterdam, 1863, i. 214–215) that, in the district of Borneo with which he deals, a third party hacks through the branch held by the 'brothers,' and at the same time pronounces imprecations upon the oath-breaker. In view of the whole circumstances, it seems not improbable that the act of holding had a twofold significance. In the first place, it symbolised the union of the parties (it had the same meaning as the contact of swords in the Scythian ceremonial), and, in the second place, it was a ritual act similar to the act of holding an animal while it is being slaughtered for sacrifice. An instance of this sacrificial ceremony is supplied by the Kumi of Chittagong. Among them, the parties to the covenant hold the ropes by which a goat is secured. One of their number stands over it, holding a fighting *dao*. He takes a mouthful of liquor from a cup and blows it over the parties and the victim. Then he raises his *dao* and invokes the river-spirit, while he pulls some hair from the goat and scatters them to the winds. With one stroke the head is severed from the body, and the blood is smeared on the foreheads and feet of the 'brothers' (T. H. Lewin, *Wild Races of South-Eastern India*, London, 1870, p. 238). Among the Bali and the Dusane, and in Shire (see below, §§ 13, 17, 21), the act of holding or touching the victim forms part of the ceremony.

11. Trumbull tells us of a curious Syrian form of the rite. The parties publicly announce their reasons for entering into the compact. These declarations are written down in duplicate; and each 'brother,' having smeared his copy with the other's blood, and having uttered the wish that the deceiver may be deceived by God, wears it suspended from his neck or bound to his arm 'in token of the indissoluble relation' (op. cit. p. 51; see below, § 21).

12. Probably Grimm (op. cit. p. 104; cf. Livy, I. 32) is justified in referring to the notion of union brought about by an exchange of blood both the 'hæta sanguinea præstata' of the Romans—the symbol of the declaration of war by a united people—and the 'Flery Cross' of the Scottish Highlanders—the half-burnt stake dipped in blood which called the clans to arms against a common foe.

13. A group of observances in which the introduction of weapons forms a prominent feature seems to be susceptible of a different interpretation. Forbes (op. cit. p. 488) tells us that at Timor the contracting parties slash their arms, and collect the blood in a bamboo, into which *banapa* (ocean gin) or *lars* (palm-wine) is poured. Having provided themselves with a small fig tree, they adjourn to some retired spot, taking with them the sword and spear from the *Laki* chamber of their own houses, or from the *Uma-Laki* of their saku, if between large companies. Planting there the fig-tree, flanked by the sacred sword and spear, they hang on it a bamboo receptacle, into which—after pledging each other in the mixed blood and gin—the remainder is poured. Then each swears, 'If I be false, and be not a true friend, may my blood issue from my mouth, ears, nose, as it does from the bamboo!'. The bottom of the receptacle being pricked at the same moment to allow the blood and gin to escape. The tree remains and grows as a witness to the contract. With this tree of witness Trumbull (op. cit. p. 316 f.) connects—erroneously, we venture to think—the blood-stained 'Flery Cross' and a similar symbol made use of in Southern Arabia (see A. von Wrede, *Reise in Hadramaut*, Braunschweig, 1870, p. 197 f.; see above, § 12). It is not uninteresting to note that the planting of a tree, which, at Timor, is an accessory only, is, among the Karens of Burma, in itself constitutive of the bond of brotherhood (Luther, op. cit. p. 313). Trumbull (op. cit. pp. 206 f., 316) refers in this connexion to the planting of trees in ancient Israel; but the Israelitish practice seems to be susceptible of an altogether different explanation (see Robertson Smith, *Rel. Sem.*, London, 1894, p. 185 f.). What then was the purpose served by the introduction of weapons? It may be that it was the same as that of planting the tree; and, in support of this view, an instance from Madagascar may be cited. W. Ellis (*Hist. of Madag.* p. 186 f.), in describing the ceremony of the *fatidra* (a form of the blood-rite), says that 'to obtain the blood, a slight incision is made in the skin covering the centre of the breast, significantly called *ambanafa*, "the mouth of the heart"'. . . . Some gunpowder and a ball are brought, together with a small quantity of ginger, a spear, and two particular kinds of grass. A bowl also is prepared. Its head is nearly cut off, and it is left in this state to continue bleeding during the ceremony.' The parties then join in pronouncing a long imprecation upon the oath-breaker, in which occur the following invocations: 'Oh the mouth of the heart! Oh the ball! Oh the powder! Oh the ginger! Oh this miserable tree! Withering in its blood! And then follows the statement: "If we keep and observe this covenant, let these things bear witness."

Take again Hutter's (op. cit. p. 1 f.) account of the ceremony among the Bali of North Cameroon:

It seems to consist of two parts—the making of 'brothers' and the making oath to keep the covenant. The parties, holding hands and prayer in their open hands, interchanged promises of mutual friendship and assistance. The kola and pepper were chewed and eaten, and the blood of the 'brothers' was mixed

with palm-wine and drunk by each. Then followed the second part of the rite. Bullets were produced, and, while imprecations were being pronounced upon the oath-breaker, a trench was dug. Each 'brother' pricked his arm, and the bullets, some wrappings of redwood, together with several bullock armbands, human bones, and two bleeding human ears were thrown into the trench. It was filled up and a flat stone was placed upon it. Upon this stone a ram was slaughtered by one of the 'brothers', while the others held it fast, its blood falling on the stone and trench. Some of the blood was mixed with wine in a calabash into which bullets were dropped, and the contents of the calabash were emptied out on the trench. Then the 'brothers' poured wine on the trench, and, having cut a jar containing redwood on the stone, they rubbed one another's arms and breasts with the wood, while words of magic were being said. Lastly, kola and pepper and horns of wine were distributed among the followers and attendants.

The view that the articles thrown into the trench and the stone placed upon it serve as 'witness' of the compact, derives support from the practices of the Chinwans in making oaths. They dig a hole in the ground, place a stone on it, throw earth on one another with loud cries, and cover the stone with earth; and by these acts (they signify that, like the stone in the ground, their word or oath remains unshakable) (Rauk Tamai, 'Die Ethnographie d. Tschinwan-Gebirges auf Formosa durch die Japaner' in *Globe*, 1898, lxx. 30 f.). A very similar form of oath is found among the Bantouan Dwarves. According to F. Hutton's account (*North Borneo*, London, 1884, p. 281 f., cf. pp. 288, 307), the whole tribe assembled, and, the ground having been cleared for a space of about twelve yards, a hole was dug, a foot in depth, a large water-jar was placed in it, the earth dug out of the hole was thrown into the jar, and the old men called upon their god. A stone was then placed near the jar, and the old men declared by fire, represented by a burning stick, by water, which had been poured into the jar, and by earth, that they would be true to all white men. The divinity was then summoned by shooting an arrow into the air; and the guns of the Europeans were placed upon the jar, out of which each man took a little earth.

14. But weapons are not infrequently introduced into the ceremony for a different purpose; they are 'invoked,' that is to say, 'to punish treachery' (D. M. Seneaton, *The Loyal Karens of Burma*, London, 1887, p. 100). When two villages in Ceram wish to make friendship after a war, the inhabitants of one come into the other bringing gifts, and are entertained with food and drink. While they are eating, a large bowl of liquor is prepared. The elders add some drops of pig's or chickens' blood; and the chiefs wound each other and let their blood flow into the liquor. The elders stir the potion with a sword, a spear, arrows, and, in later times, with the muzzle of a musket. Then one of them comes forward and imprecates evil upon the oath-breaker, the other feasters show their concurrence by signs, the chiefs of the two parties begin to drink the liquid, and the rest of the company drink after them. On a set day a feast is given in the other village, and the bond is then regarded as inviolable. This solemnity is called *pala* (Riedel, op. cit. p. 190 f.). Riedel does not give the terms of the imprecation, nor does he state the purpose for which the weapons are introduced. It is, however, instructive to observe that, in the Ceram procedure, by way of oath for the discovery of crime, a *parang* and a little arrow-rest are introduced along with other symbols, and that an imprecation is pronounced upon the guilty person to the effect, *later alia*, that his throat shall be cut with a *parang* and his body pierced with arrows (ib. p. 116). Further, in the Tancabar and Timor East Islands, in making brothers, sea-water, palm-wine, and other ingredients, together with a small stone, or tooth, are poured into a bowl and mixed with the blood of the contracting parties. *Dudilas* is invoked as witness to the covenant, and evils are imprecated upon the breaker of the bond. He shall be unstable as the sea, weak as a man drunk with palm wine, and the like. Then the parties drink the liquor, and the stone or tooth is broken in two and preserved as a memorial or 'witness' (ib. p. 224). It is thought that these practices throw some light upon the symbolical meaning of weapons in the *pala* ceremony (see also Riedel, op. cit. p. 308, as to brother making at Loti), and that a similar explanation applies to the two instances which

follow. Among the Wamano, Waseguro, and Waangara, the candidates for brotherhood seat themselves opposite to one another, their bows and arrows being placed across their thighs, ' whilst a third person waving a sword over their heads vociferates curses against any that may break the brotherhood' (Barton, *op. cit.* i. 114); and to the westward of Lake Tanganyika, after the transfusion of blood by inoculation had been completed, one of the proxies held a sword resting on his shoulder, while the other went through the motions of sharpening a knife upon it, both joining in pronouncing imprecations upon the oath-breaker (Cameron, *op. cit.* i. 233). A somewhat similar act formed part of the ritual among the Wakikwa, and was followed by imprecations (v. Höhn, *Zum Rudolph-See und Stephanus-See*, Vienna, 1891, p. 241 f.; A. Arkell-Hardwick, *An Ivory Trader in North Kenya*, London, 1903, p. 147).

15. It is, of course, plain, from some of the examples of the ceremony with which we have been dealing, that the blood employed is not always that of the contracting parties (see C. Hoss and W. McDougall, 'The Relations between Men and Animals in Sarawak,' in *JAT*, 1901, xxi. 209; *cf.* p. 185). In very many cases it is that of their proxies (Livingstone, *op. cit.* p. 488; J. Thomson, *Through Massi Land*, new ed. London, 1887, p. 28; Cameron, *op. cit.* i. 233; Stanley, *Through the Dark Continent*, ii. 146, 232). Sometimes the 'brothers' shake hands, after having dipped them in the blood of a slaughtered animal (J. M. Schuyler, *Reisen im oberen Nilgebiet*, *Ergänzungsheft*, No. 72, to *Peterm. Mitth.* p. 50), or they are marked with its blood—the blood of a pig among the Miniahs (St. John, *op. cit.* i. 117, 75), of a goat among the Kumi of Chittagong (Lowin, *op. cit.* p. 228), of a goat or a heifer among the Shendons (*ib.* pp. 315, 322). Sometimes they smear their lips with blood drawn from a bullock's ear (*Le Tchou-Li, ou Rites du Tchou*, tr. from the Chinese by E. Biot, Paris, 1851, i. 120, ii. 247 f.). Or the blood may be that of a human victim, either stoppered with drink, as among the wild tribes of Mexico (H. H. Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States of N. America*, London, 1875, i. 626, 637; see below, § 48), or slain, as among the Danoms of Borneo (Schwaner, *op. cit.* ii. 77).

16. Some of these ceremonies are plainly sacrificial, and recall to us Herodotus' account of the formation of blood-brotherhood among the Arabs (*iii. 8* (Rawlinson's tr.)). He tells us that,

'when two men would cement a friendship, they stand on each side of a third, he with a sharp stone makes a cut on the inside of the hand of each near the middle finger, and, taking a piece from their drum, dips it in the blood of each, and molten throw it with seven stones lying in the midst, calling the while on Bacchus and Ureia.'

Robertson Smith identifies these divinities with Oront and Alilat (*Rel. Sem.* p. 316), and observes that at Mecca, within historical times,

'the form of the oath was that each party dipped their hands in a pan of blood and tasted the contents. . . . The heathen Arabs had substituted the blood of a victim for human blood, but they retained a feature which Herodotus had missed, they loked the blood as well as smeared it on the sacred stones. . . . The seven stones in Herodotus are, of course, sacred stones, the Arabic *asbat*, Hebrew *massébat*, which, like the sacred stones of the Ka'ba, were originally *Betyla*, Bethels or god-boxes.' He adds that the essence of the rite was that the parties 'commingled their blood, at the same time applying the blood to the god or fetish as to make him a party to the covenant also' (*Exodus*, etc., pp. 57, 58, 60).

17. In some of these sacrificial rites an exchange of garments or weapons or gifts forms a part. Thus St. John (*op. cit.* i. 117), in speaking of the Kayans, says that

'they sometimes vary the ceremony, though the variation may be confined to the *Kidika*, who live farther up the river, and are intermarried with the Kayans. There a pig is brought and placed between the two who are to be joined in brotherhood. A chief addresses an invocation to the gods, and marks with a

lighted brand the pig's shoulder. The beast is then killed, and, after an exchange of jackets, a sword is thrust into the wound and the two are marked with the blood of the pig.'

So, too, among the Wachaga, an exchange and re-exchange of clothing enter into the rite (Kobler, *Das Bantuvrecht*, p. 40). Among the Kanowit Dayaks, 'a pig was placed between the representatives of the two tribes, who, after calling down the vengeance of the Spirits on those who broke the treaty, plunged their spears into the animal and then exchanged weapons' (St. John, *op. cit.* i. 55). Again, among the Dusuna, an exchange of weapons followed the ceremony, in which, having invoked his god, the chief and the traveller held the head and legs of a fowl, while a third person almost severed its head. The movements of the dying fowl were taken to indicate the intentions of the parties. Lastly, guns were fired and presents were given (Hutton, *op. cit.* p. 105; see below, § 20).

(b) *Where blood is not employed.*

18. We shall now proceed to consider the cases in which the use of blood does not enter into the ceremony; and, first of all, we shall deal with instances where the exchange of food forms an essential element in the ritual. Thus, among the Mapuches the compact is made by an exchange of names, one of the parties at the same time presenting a lamb to the other to be eaten by him (E. R. Smith, *The Aroucaians*, New York, 1856, pp. 261, 262; see also E. Poppig, *Reise in Chile, Peru, u. auf die Amazonasströme während d. Jahre 1837-1839*, Leipzig, 1835, i. 264 f., as to the Pehuanos). The Reschist of Lake Rudolph make 'brothers' with strangers by eating pieces of the liver of a sheep together (A. Donaldson Smith, *Through Unknown African Countries*, London, 1897, p. 297; according to v. Höhn, *op. cit.* p. 687, 000, they spit upon the sheep and pour milk upon it; see below, § 21); and of the Abors it is said that they 'hold as inviolate any engagement cemented by an interchange of meat as food. This is called *angmung*. Each party to the engagement must give to the other some animal to be killed and eaten; it is not necessary that they should eat together, or that the feast be held at the same time' (Dalton, *op. cit.* p. 26). The latter part of this statement recalls the account of the Mapuches, given above, and that of the *magwe* ceremony among the Khoi-Khoi. The parties to the rite last mentioned must be relatives. A man, for example, may enter into it with his sister's son or daughter. On a day fixed, the nephew sends a ewe or a cow to his uncle's house, where it is slaughtered. The ceremony itself is called *gawuise* ('navel-cutting'). The animal is divided between uncle and nephew, each of whom eats his share apart from the other—generally in his own house. The blood boiled with the kidney-fat forms the ceremonial food (*cf.* A. W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-east Australia*, London, 1904, p. 751), and of it only the parties and their nearest relatives partake, the rest of the flesh being eaten apart by strangers. After the meal the uncle gives the nephew his hand, promises to be a father to him, and asks him not to injure him in any way. Some days afterwards the uncle gives a feast in return. He slaughters an animal in the house of his sister—the mother of the man with whom he is entering into the *magwe*—and afterwards gives him the best of his cow. The covenant draws the ties of relationship more closely together, but does not form a new bond (C. Wandrer, 'Die Khoi-Khoi oder Naman,' in H. S. Steinmetz, *Rechtserhaltung von eingeborenen Völkern in Afrika u. Ozeanien*, Berlin, 1903, p. 215 f.). The Hm take the oath of friendship by 'chopping juju.' A kola nut is placed on a brass tray with water poured on it. One of the parties touches himself with the

water and nut and eats part of it. Then the other party eats the remainder of it (R. H. Bacon, *Benin, the City of Blood*, London, 1897, p. 100). Again, among the Karens of Burma, brotherhood is made by eating together, or by planting a tree, or by exchanging blood. Of these methods, the first is said to be of but little binding force, being a mere agreement to abstain from hostilities for a certain time (Lotter, *op. cit.* p. 313). The Bauris, Bagdis, and Mabilis admit into their caste men of any caste ranking higher than their own, on the candidate paying a small sum of money to the headman and giving a feast. He must taste a portion of the food left by each of the guests (H. H. Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal: Ethnographic Glossary*, Calcutta, 1891, li. 41). Among the Mals, he must give a feast, and drink water into which the headman has dipped his toes (*ib.* p. 60). When a man of the Murni—a Mongolian caste in Nepal—desires to make another man his brother, he intimates his feelings; and if these are reciprocated, presents are exchanged. A day is fixed for the ceremony, at which a Brahman officiates. The men face one another, each with a rapier at his feet. They exchange the rapier, and each daubs the other's face with the mixture of rice and curds used in the marriage rite. The proceedings end with a feast. The tie thus formed is regarded as equivalent to that of actual kinship. The adopted brothers may not address or speak of one another by name, nor may they talk to each other's wives, even though these may have taken part in the ceremony. Their descendants, again, are supposed not to intermarry till seven generations have passed (*ib.* p. 111). A somewhat similar account is given of the Limbus (*ib.* p. 16).

19. With the usages as to eating may be compared what Herodotus (iv. 172 [already quoted]) says of the Nasamonians: 'When they pledge their faith to one another, each gives the other to drink out of his hand; if there be no liquid to be had, they take up dust from the ground, and put their tongues to it.' In making friendship with the Wakikaju, the two parties throw water on their heads and enought and drank it as it fell (v. Hohnel, *op. cit.* p. 315 f.); and it is said of the wild tribes of the Naga Hills that, when peace is concluded between the villages after a war, the chiefs meet face to face on opposite sides of a table raised on the roadside about eight feet from the ground, and approached on either side by a broad account, and exchange bamboo mugs of wine (R. G. Woodthorpe, 'Notes on the Wild Tribes inhabiting the so-called Naga Hills,' *JAI* xi. 311).

20. Not infrequently the bond is constituted by an exchange of garments or weapons. Thus, in Tabiti, the natives made friends by taking off a great part of their own clothes and putting them upon the voyagers (J. Cook in J. Hawkesworth, *An Account of Voyages in the Southern Hemisphere*, London, 1773, li. 251). It is said of the villagers of the Gangotri valley in the country of the Tori Rājs, that with them an exchange of caps is as certain a mark of friendship as an exchange of turbans between two chiefs in the plains (F. Markham, *Shooting in the Himalayas*, London, 1854, p. 108); and a similar statement is made regarding the Khamtis (H. B. Rowney, *The Wild Tribes of India*, London, 1892, pp. 162, 163); while the Masai are said to conclude peace by an exchange of clothing (Merker, *op. cit.* p. 101). Edmund of England entered into an intimate alliance with King Canut by exchanging clothing and arms (du Cange, *Glossarium*, *ad cit. supr.*); and, according to the same authority (Diss. xxi. in Jean eiro de Joinville (*ad cit. supr.*), where many other instances will be found), it was the practice of the Saracens to make friendships by

an exchange of arms. The case of Glancon and Diomedes (Hom. *Il.* vi. 235; see Tarnassia, *op. cit.* p. 65) is, of course, familiar. Again, it is said of the Khamtis that 'by an exchange of weapons even the most deadly enemies become fast friends, and if one falls in fight, it is the duty of the other to avenge him' (Rowney, *op. cit.*); and Dalton (*op. cit.* p. 20) gives a like account of the Mikimias.

21. Sometimes the compact is formed by exchanging pieces of a slaughtered animal. Thus the Kachikis (see H. H. Smith, *op. cit.* p. 267, referred to above, § 16) hang strips of its pannich on the necks of those with whom they are making friendship (P. Paulitschke, *Ethnographische Nordost-Afrika*, *Die materiellen Kultur d. Dandaki, Galla, u. Somali*, Berlin, 1893, pp. 249, 250), while the headman eats and whispers (v. Hohnel, *op. cit.* p. 600). Joseph Thomson gives an interesting account of a somewhat similar practice in Shira:

'A goat was brought, and, taking it by one ear, I was required to state where I was going, to declare that I meant no harm, and did not work in cotton (black magic), and, finally, to promise that I would do no harm to the country. The other ear was then taken by the Sultan's ambassador, and he made promise on his part that no harm would be done to us, that food would be given, and all articles stolen returned. The goat was then killed, and a strip of skin cut off the forehead, in which two eyes were made. The Sultan's representative, taking hold of this, pushed it on my finger by the lower slit five times, finally pushing it over the joint. I had sent to take the strip, still keeping it on my own finger, and to do the same for him through the upper slit. This operation finished, the strips had to be cut in two, leaving the respective portions on our fingers' (*op. cit.* p. 65).

The missionary Rohmann, who received this token of friendship from the king of Kilema, calls it 'kishogno' (J. L. Krapf, *Travels in Eastern Africa*, London, 1860, p. 226). Thomson's description of the rite explains what is said of the Wakamba—that the 'brothers' exchange rings made of the skin of a sacrificial victim, which they have eaten together (J. M. Hildebrandt, 'Ethnographische Notizen über Wakamba und ihre Nachbarn' in *ZfN* x. 306). Further, Trumbull (*op. cit.* p. 66) quotes an Indian authority ('Tod's Travels,' *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, Singapore, 1851, No. 34) to the effect that among the Rājput races of India women adopt a brother by the gift of a bracelet; and with this custom may be compared the Slavonic practice of tying the 'brothers' together (see below, § 37).

22. Sometimes the ceremony consists in the application of saliva (see above, § 18, 21). The Southern Somali apite on his right hand and rubs it on the forehead of his friend to indicate that he is a fellow-tribesman; and among the Oromó, a like ceremony seems to entitle the guest to tribal rights (Paulitschke, *op. cit.* p. 246). In the old days, the Masai spat at the man with whom they swore eternal friendship (S. L. and H. Hinde, *The East of the Masai*, London, 1901, p. 47); and, among the Dyaks, 'spitting betokens the most affectionate good-will; it was a pledge of attachment, an oath of fidelity; it was to their mind the proper way of giving solemnity to a league of friendship' (G. Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa*, tr. by E. K. Frewer, London, 1873, i. 308). A similar practice is said to prevail in Guinea (Lawrence Keymis, *Second Voyage to Guinea in the year 1836*; R. Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations . . . of the English Nation* . . . London, 1598-1600, lii. 677), and in the Bismarck Archipelago, off New Guinea (E. S. Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus*, London, 1904-1906, li. 264); and Grimm (*op. cit.* p. 194) observes that the old northern symbol of concluding peace was not blood but saliva (see Hartland, *op. cit.* li. 258 f., where many instances in which saliva is employed are collected).

23. A remarkable form of the practice is spoken of by Taplin (in J. D. Wood's *Native Tribes of*

South Australia, Adelaide, 1870, p. 32E). He says in his account of the Narrinyeri that

'there appears to have existed a sort of traffic between the tribes on the Murray and those near the sea, and a curious sort of provision is made for it, the object of which may be the securing of particularly trustworthy agents to transact the business of the tribes—agents who will not by collusion cheat their employers and enrich themselves. When a man has a child born to him, he preserves its unblemished cord by tying it up in the middle of a bunch of feathers. This is called a *kaldaka*. He then gives this to the father of child or children belonging to another tribe, and these children are thereafter agia-agians to the child from whom the *kaldaka* was procured, and that child is agia-agians to them. From that time none of the children of the man to whom the *kaldaka* was given may speak to their agia-agians or even touch or go near him; neither must he speak to them.'

We learn from the same authority (Taplin, in R. M. Carr, *The Australian Race*, London, 1880, ii. 254) that, 'if one agia-agians sees another in need of anything, he or she must send a supply of it if possible; but yet there must never be any direct personal intercourse between the two.' Sometimes the relation is entered into for a time only by dividing the *kaldaka* and giving a part to each. When these parts are returned to the original owner, the relation ceases (Taplin, in J. D. Woods, *op. cit.* p. 33).

24. Many instances may be cited in which the compact is made by an exchange of names. This is the form observed by the Mapuches, one of the parties to the exchange at the same time presenting a lamb to the other, to be eaten by him.

'The giving of a name establishes between the namesakes a species of relationship which is considered almost as sacred as that of blood, and obliges them to render to each other certain services and that consideration which naturally belongs to relatives' (R. B. Smith, *op. cit.* p. 322, see also Pöppig, *op. cit.* i. 304 f. as to the Fehusches).

At Shupanga, on the Zambesi, the exchange of names with men of other tribes is not uncommon. The parties to the transaction regard themselves as close comrades, owing special duties to each other ever after; and each is entitled, if he visits the other, to food, lodging, and other friendly offices (D. and C. Livingstone, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambesi and its Tributaries, 1853-1854*, London, 1865, p. 146). In Ugo names are exchanged as a pledge of friendship (C. T. Wilson and K. W. Felkin, *op. cit.* i. 60), and the practice is common in Polynesia (Hawaii (J. Cook and King, *A Voyage of Discovery to the Pacific Ocean in the years of 1777-1780*, London, 1784, iii. 17). Huahine (J. Cook, in Hawkesworth, *op. cit.* ii. 251). It is said to be in use in the Marshall Islands (C. E. Meinicke, *Die Inseln d. stillen Ozeans*, Leipzig, 1875-1876, ii. 342; A. von Chamisso, in O. von Kotzebue, *A Voyage of Discovery into the Southern Sea and Bering's Straits*, London, 1831, iii. p. 172, affirms that the friend is obliged to give his wife to his friend, but is not bound to avenge him); and it is found in the islands of Torres Straits (see *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, 1904, v. 125, 131 f.; see also J. B. Jukes, *Narrative of the Surveying Voyage of H.M.S. 'Fly'*, London, 1847, i. 200 f., where it seems that the exchange forms a bar to marriage between one of the parties and the sisters of the other), and among the Caribs (*Histoire naturelle et morale des Îles Antilles de l'Amérique*, Rotterdam, 1681, p. 513), the Chopenish (M. Lewis and W. Clarke, *Travels to the Sources of the Missouri River . . . in the years 1804-1806*, new ed., London, 1816, iii. 254), the Spokane (Bancroft, *op. cit.* i. 285, note), the Shastika Indians (S. Powers, *Tribes of California: Contributions to N. American Ethnology*, Washington, 1877, iii. 947), and the Chugachmiut of Alaska (N. Porlock, *A Voyage round the World . . . in 1782-1783*, London, 1789, p. 234; J. Meares, *Voyages made in the years 1782 and 1783, from China to the N.W. Coast of America*, London, 1790,

p. 206). It was at one time in use on the Lower Murray (G. F. Angus, *Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand*, London, 1847, i. 69) and in New Zealand (J. S. Polack, *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders*, London, 1840, ii. 181). Of the natives at Wide Bay, Queensland, it is said (H. S. Russell, 'Exploring Excursion in Australia' in *JEGS*, 1945, xv. 314) that 'they rub their noses with their finger and mention their name, and you are then expected to follow the example by rubbing your nose and mentioning your name; then rub noses again with names exchanged.' The Kingmill Islanders make friendship by rubbing noses and exchanging names (C. Wilkes, *Narrative of the U.S. Exploring Expedition during the years 1838-1842*, London, 1845, iv. 51); and de Baimon gives a very similar account of the ceremony at Tonga (J. Dumont d'Urville, *Voyage de la Corvette 'L'Astrolabe': Histoire du Voyage*, Paris, 1830-1833, iv. 346). The Vanikoro exchange names and presents (*ib.* v. 229); and the same usage prevails in some parts of New Guinea (W. W. Gill, *Life in the Southern Isles*, London, 1876, p. 233; J. Chalmers and W. W. Gill, *Work and Adventure in New Guinea, 1877-1885*, London, 1885, pp. 62, 66). As to making 'brothers' with animals by exchange of names, see below, § 46.

25. Among the Yabgane of Cape Horn, artificial ties of friendship are constituted by an exchange of gifts, and by painting the face and body in a distinctive fashion. The friends assume the names of blood-relationship—uncle, brother, cousin, or nephew—and behave themselves as if they were really akin (T. Bridges, 'Mœurs et Coutumes des Fuégiens,' tr. by P. Hyades, *Bulletin de la Soc. d'Anthrop. de Paris*, 1894, ser. iii. vol. vii. p. 182). And this practice is not confined to males; for women, unconnected by blood, often call themselves sisters, and act as such in all the conduct of life (P. Hyades and J. Deniker, *Mission du Cap Horn, 1883-1885*, Paris, 1891, vii. 236). So, too, among the Ovaberrero, persons of the same sex are frequently united in a formal association (*ompa-panga* or *oupa-panga*). The men have their wives in common, and are entitled to use each other's property in time of need; while married as well as unmarried women join the sisterhood (G. Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrikas*, Breslau, 1872, p. 227; G. Vieha, 'Die Ovaberrero,' in S. H. Steinmetz, *op. cit.* p. 204; see also J. Kohler, 'Recht d. Herero' in *Zeits. f. vergl. Rechtsw.* xiv. 298-300). An interesting parallel to these female associations is furnished by the Orsons. 'When two girls feel a particular penchant for each other, they swear eternal friendship and exchange necklaces, and the compact is witnessed by common friends. They do not name one another after this ratification of goodwill, but are "my flower" or "my gin" or "my meat to smile" to each other to the end of their lives' (Dalton, *op. cit.* p. 265). A like custom exists among some of the Papuan tribes on the north coast of New Guinea (J. Kohler, 'Recht der Papuanen' in *Zeits. f. vergl. Rechtsw.* xiv. p. 206), and in certain districts of the Abruzzi (R. B. Harland, *op. cit.* ii. 218 f.). As to similar names among the Southern Slavs see below, § 34.

26. Among the North American Indians, we find many examples of companionships in arms. Thus, of the Kongas and Omahas it is said that 'the young men are generally coupled out as friends; the tie is very permanent, and continues oftentimes through life' (Edwin James, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains . . . in the years 1819-1820 . . . compiled from the notes of Major Long . . .* London, 1823, i. 117, 236; see also W. J. McGee, 'The Siouan Indians,' in *Fiftieth Annual Report of the Bur*

friendship (G. Grey, *Journals of Two Expeditions of Discovery in North-West and Western Australia*, London, 1841, ii. 342; cf. Spencer-Gillen, pp. 556, 600; but see R. Brough Smith, *Aborigines of Victoria*, London, 1878, i. 514). Hildebrandt says further, that if a fugitive can succeed in putting his lips to a woman's breast, he thereby creates an indissoluble bond between himself and her tribe, which is thenceforth bound to protect him (*loc. cit. supra*).

iii. The institution among the Southern Slavs.

32. We now propose to turn to a centre of the institution—to the countries of the Southern Slavs, where it is a living force admitted within the walls of the sanctuary by the recognition of the Christian Church. Here we shall meet with many forms, of which some are familiar and some are novel; and we shall commence with an instance in which blood-drinking plays a part. According to a Bosnian authority quoted by F. S. Kraus (*Sitte und Brauch d. Sudslaven*, Vienna, 1885, p. 636), the priest offers up a prayer in which he dwells upon the reciprocal duties of the 'brothers.' He makes them kiss one another, and repeat after him the words of a solemn oath. Then the younger brother scratches his arm so as to draw a few drops of blood, which he mixes with wine. The brothers drink the liquid and the compact is sealed. Kraus doubts the accuracy of this account, but S. Ciszewski (*Kunstliche Verwandschaft bei den Sudslaven*, Leipzig, 1907, pp. 60-68) accepts it as reliable, and adduces corroborative evidence from many other quarters. (See § 40 below.)

33. We are told (M. Chopin et A. Uhlinski, *Provinces roumaines et roumaines*, Paris, 1856, i. 187, cited by Ciszewski, *op. cit.* p. 33) of a brotherhood 'par arms,' known to Montenegro and Bulgaria. The two men who wish to enter into the compact go to a church, accompanied by several friends as witnesses. They lay their arms crosswise on the floor, and, after swearing that now they are united in life and death, take them up and exchange them. If one dies, his weapons pass to the survivor.

34. According to Medasović (cited by Ciszewski, *op. cit.* p. 33), the bond in Montenegro is one not of friendship only but of relationship—the parties to it are looked upon as actual brothers. He distinguishes three grades, of which the first is called the 'little brotherhood.' It is constituted by a kiss thrice repeated. The 'brothers' exchange gifts; and he who first expressed the wish to perform the rite entertains the other. 'Brothers' of this first degree may determine to form a still more intimate relation, and in such a case the ceremony is one of greater solemnity. They call a priest to say a prayer while they stand under the stola, and, having drunk wine from the chalice to which they set their lips at the same time, they eat a crumb of the bread, receiving the Eucharist in both kinds according to the observance of the Eastern Church. Having kissed the cross, the evangel, and the holy pictures, they kiss one another thrice; and he who proposed the union entertains the other. Presents are exchanged, and the men are brothers until death. So, too, women, married as well as single, enter into similar friendships by drinking wine together, kissing one another, and exchanging gifts. A. Fortis (*Viaggio in Dalmatia*, Venice, 1774, i. 88 ff.) tells us that he was present in the church of Peradé when a union between two young Morlak girls was solemnized on the steps of the altar. He observes that in his day friendships of this sort between persons of different sexes were less common than they had been in the past. According to Kraus (*op. cit.* p. 641), the 'sisters' are always together—in church, at work, and in amusement. They wear similar clothes and ornaments, and address one another as 'little sister,'

'my gold,' 'my little sawn.' No relationship could be more intimate or more affectionate (see § 26 above, where parallel instances are noted).

35. In some parts of Croatia the bond seems to be formed without wine-drinking or witnesses; while, in Northern Bulgaria, the rite exhibits the characteristics of a family gathering, without the intervention of the Church. In some districts the ceremony resembles that of a marriage (Ciszewski, *op. cit.* pp. 35-36).

36. All the old ritual books prescribe the same, or nearly the same, formalities. The parties stand before the altar, the elder on the right, the younger on the left. The priest hands a candle to each. Each lays his right hand on the Gospels, and holds a cross in his left. According to another form, they stand before the altar with crosses and candles in their hands. The priest utters a prayer, in which the importance of the act is emphasized, the reciprocal duties of the brothers are laid down, and God's blessing is invoked upon them. Then the priest exchanges the crosses and candles which the brothers are holding in their hands, and reads to them certain passages of Holy Writ; and the brothers kiss the Gospels and embrace each other. It is only in Bulgaria that the exchange of candles and crosses takes place (*ib.* p. 37).

37. It is customary in one of the districts of Bulgaria for the priest to tie the men together with a small cord which he uses in saying Mass. He then takes off his vestments, and lays them on their heads; and, after having said a prayer suitable to the occasion, he sprinkles them with holy water, and, untying the cord, bids them kiss hands, telling them that they are henceforth brothers in spirit. This ceremony takes place at the end of Divine service, when the church is empty (*ib.* p. 38; see § 21 above, where parallel instances are noted).

38. Among the Bulgarians of Pripet, after the ceremony in church is over, one of the brothers entertains his relatives, with the other brother and his relatives, gifts being distributed among all who are present. A few days afterwards a similar meal is provided in the house of the other brother, and gifts are again distributed. All those who have received these gifts are henceforward regarded as relatives, and may not intermarry; and this kind of union may be contracted by men with men, by men with women, or by women with women (*ib.* p. 39).

39. In Little Russia, brotherhoods and sisterhoods are formed by swearing eternal friendship upon a holy picture, by drinking wine, and by exchanging gifts. In some parts of Russia a meal, to which the whole company is invited, completes the ceremony; and the brothers make it the occasion of an exchange of presents—very often of their baptismal crosses. Their children may not intermarry (*ib.* pp. 64-69).

40. From Serbia, Croatia, and Bulgaria we are supplied with notices of ceremonies by which temporary bonds of brotherhood and sisterhood are constituted. These bonds continue from year to year, and form an actual relationship and a bar to intermarriage (*ib.* pp. 41-47). Parallel instances have been observed in Italy and among the Poles and Czechs (*ib.* pp. 48-50). In Serbia and Croatia these unions are formed on St. John Baptist's day by the exchange of willow crowns and gifts and kisses. In Southern Bulgaria, on the same holy day, the brothers exchange bunches of twigs, with needles like the pine, in presence of their invited guests, and, having pricked themselves, suck each other's blood in order to show the intimacy of their union. Thenceforward they treat one another as if they were blood-relations. After this exchange of blood they approach the hearth and place their

feet upon it, the guests at the same time beginning the feast. Then the brothers embrace one another, kiss hands, and, exchanging the bunches of twigs, drink out of the same bowl. They give one another presents, and visit their friends and relatives. Upon the corresponding day of the next year the compact is renewed—the elder brother, who on the previous occasion was the younger brother's guest, being now his host (ib. p. 44 f., and see § 32 above).

41. In Bulgaria, a bond of brotherhood subsists between children who have been christened in the same water. Brothers or sisters born in the corresponding month in different years, and also twin children, are regarded as so intimately connected that the death of one involves that of the other. A ceremony is therefore necessary to break this connexion, and the person who performs it becomes, in consequence of his act, the brother or sister of the child saved from death. On similar grounds there is said to be a like tie between the person who rescues another from death by drowning, or on the battlefield, and the person rescued; between pilgrims who exchange certain kindly offices; between foster-brothers; and between those who attend upon a bride and bridegroom on the occasion of their marriage (Ciszewski, *op. cit.* pp. 4-22, 101 ff.).

42. Ciszewski (*op. cit.* p. 94 ff.) supplies two instances in which the relation was entered into in obedience to a Divine command; and Krauss (*op. cit.* p. 633) states that, if a man dream that he has made brotherhood with another, he will deem the latter's refusal to form the union as the bitterest of insults. In the ordinary case the dream becomes a reality, and the parties shake hands, kiss one another, and exchange gifts (see below, § 46).

43. Another form of brotherhood mentioned by Ciszewski (*op. cit.* p. 72 ff.) and Krauss (*op. cit.* p. 632) is that made between a man who is in extreme danger and another to whom he appeals for help in the name of God and St. John, at the same time taking him solemnly for his brother. An interesting example of this variety of the relation is given by Krauss (*op. cit.* p. 638). A girl who has to go over the mountains alone may invite the first man she meets to be her brother. He is bound to guard her as if she were his own sister; and, were he to ill-treat her, he would be regarded as a criminal against Heaven.

44. The institution in Roman and Byzantine law and in modern Greece.

45. It is interesting to notice the attitude which the Roman lawgivers assumed towards this institution. A rescript of the emperors Diocletian and Maximian (§ 7 a. de *Hered. Instit.* 6. 24) is in the following terms:

'Nec apud peregrinos fratrem sibi quicquam per adoptionem facere poterat. Cum igitur quod patrem suum veluimus facere dicitur irritum sit, portionem hereditatis, quam in adversum quem supplicem velut adoptatus frater suus institutus tenet, nullum sibi curas habebit praeberi provinciam.'

It seems clear that this rescript proceeds upon a confusion of the institution of brotherhood with that of adoption, and that the former, which was completely foreign to Roman ideas, was treated as if it were a monstrous form of the latter and declared to be of no force. The same view received effect in a collection of Syro-Roman laws (*Syrisch-romisches Rechtsbuch*, revised and edited by K. G. Bruns and R. Sachau, Leipzig, 1880), which belongs to the 8th cent. of our era. One of its provisions declares that, if a man wishes to write a compact of brotherhood with another so that they shall hold in common all that they possess or shall acquire, the law forbids it, and annuls the written compact. For their wives are not common, and their children cannot be common. So, too, the Byzantine lawyers of the 11th cent. refused to recognise ἀδελφότητα, or ἀδελφότης, or ἀδελφ-

ρωσία as binding. It was forbidden by the Church, especially to her monks; and the argument against it which found most favour was that of an archbishop of Bulgaria in the 13th century: ὁ θεὸς πατὴρ τὸν πόλεμον, ὁ πόλεμος δὲ τοὺς ἀδελφούς. Still, the ceremony was practised frequently and in many places; and although the Church forbade it, it was always celebrated with the Church's rites. Like sponsorship, it constituted a σπονδιακή ἀδελφότης, and created a marriage bar between the parties to it, and, according to some authorities, between their children (Brans and Sachau, *op. cit.* pp. 233-256; Tarnassia, *op. cit.* p. 63 ff.; Robertson Smith, *Kinship*, p. 100). It played an important part in the Greek war of independence, and is said even now to survive in certain districts of Greece (J. Kohler, 'Studien über die künstliche Verwandtschaft' in *Zeits. f. vergl. Rechtsw.* v. 428; Ciszewski, *op. cit.* p. 60).

v. Where the compact is entered into with women, dead persons, supernatural beings, or animals.

46. We have seen that the compact is not confined to males. Thus, among the Southern Slavs, men enter into it with women (Krauss, *op. cit.* pp. 618, 624, 636, 640), and women with women (ib. p. 641); and female associations are likewise found among the Yagana, the Orsons, in certain districts of the Abruzzi, among the Papuans on the north coast of New Guinea, the Ovaherero (see above, § 25), and the Swahili (Nieme, *op. cit.* p. 340). Nor are these compacts always confined to mortals, if we may rely on the evidence of Bulgarian folk-tales and of the modes of address used by the fishermen of Ragusa to those whom they regard as witches (Ciszewski, *op. cit.* pp. 69-71; cf. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, London, 1900, iii. 390, note). In some cases the bond seems to be formed with a dead enemy. Thus, among the sea Dayaks, his head is brought on shore with much ceremony. For months after its arrival

'It is treated with the greatest veneration, and all the names and terms of endearment of which their language is capable are abundantly lavished on it; the most delectable morsels are thrust into its mouth, and it is instructed to hate its former friends, and that, having been adopted into the tribe of its captors, its spirit must be always with them, with leaves and betelnuts are given to it,—and, finally, a cigar is frequently placed between its ghostly and pallid lips. None of this disgusting mockery is performed with the intention of ridiculing, but all to propitiate the spirit by kindness' (H. Low, *Sarawak*, London, 1868, p. 107).

47. This curious ceremony recalls to us the treatment of the dead bear by some of the Canadian Indians. According to Charlevoix (*op. cit.* v. 173), as soon as he has killed a bear, the hunter puts the mouthpiece of his lighted pipe between its teeth, blows into the bowl, and, having filled the animal's jaws with smoke, adjures its spirit not to resent what has happened nor thwart him in his hunting expeditions. With this account that of the festival of the bear among the Ainu may be compared (I. L. Bird, *Undeaten Tracks in Japan*, London, 1890, ii. 97-98), and also that of Macrae ('Account of the Kookies or Lunetas' in *Arctic Researches*, London, 1803, vii. 100) as to the revenge which the tribesmen take on the tiger, and even on the tree by which a relative has met his death (cf. E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, London, 1903, i. 286). In a Malagasy folk-tale we read of a bad man who was blood-brother of certain beasts (*FLJ*, London, 1883, i. 209); and in Sarawak a man sometimes dreams that he has become blood-brother of a crocodile by going through the regular ceremony and exchanging names. Thereafter he is quite safe from crocodiles (C. Hose and W. McDougall, *op. cit.* p. 190 f.; see above, § 43).

vi. What persons are bound by the compact.

47. In some cases the compact is obligatory only

upon those who have personally become parties to it. In Timor and Borneo, and among the Wachaga, a chief may represent his tribe, but a simple tribesman binds himself only (Forbes, *op. cit.* p. 402; Schwane, *op. cit.* i. 214-215; Kohler, 'Das Banturecht,' *loc. cit.* xv, 40). Nor does the bond reach further in the *faisala* of Madagascar, in the old Northern ceremony of 'going under the turf,' in the companionships in arms of the American Indians, the Fijians and the Afghans, in the brotherhoods of the Syrians of the Lebanon (see above, §§ 13, 7, 90, 11) and of the Swahili (Niese, *op. cit.* p. 240), in the friendships of the Polynesian, Yagana, Orsana, and the natives of the Abruzzi, and the Celts (see §§ 53, 25, 2, 3).

48. In many instances the participants in the rite bind not themselves only, but other persons on behalf of whom they act. Thus, among the Karons of Burma, 'the chief stands as the representative of the tribe, if it be a tribal agreement; or the father as the representative of the family, if it be a more limited covenant' (Lather, *op. cit.* p. 313); and in Timor, the parties may be the representatives of families or tribes or kingdoms (Forbes, *op. cit.* p. 402). Chiefs bind their tribes amongst the wild people of the Naga hills (Woodthorpe, *op. cit.* p. 211), the natives of the Bismarck Archipelago (E. Sorge, 'Niasa-Innals in Bismarck-Archipel,' in Steinmetz, *op. cit.* p. 405), in Borneo (Schwane, *op. cit.* i. 214), and among the Wachaga (Kohler 'Das Banturecht,' *loc. cit.* xv 40). Sometimes the chiefs take the principal parts in the ceremony, while their followers join only in its later stages; as, for example, by drinking what remains of the diluted blood, by participating in a common feast, or by receiving gifts from the 'brothers'; so with the Berytians (Herodotus, iv. 70), Balonda (Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches*, p. 488 f.), Caranese (Riedel, *op. cit.* pp. 128-129), and Bulgarians (see above, § 38). In other cases the tribe is represented by a certain number of tribesmen (Geros and Kanowit Dayaka (see above, § 9), Ball of N. Cameroon (Hutter, *loc. cit.* p. 1)). A very curious instance of the representation of a tribe by a single tribesman is given by Bancroft (*op. cit.* i. 636-637). He says of certain Mexican tribes, that if one of them wished to make 'a close connexion, friendship, alliance, family or blood relationship' with another, its members seized a man of the latter tribe, and, having made him intoxicated, pierced his ears with awls and smeared themselves with his blood.

It is, of course, sufficiently obvious that the blood-brother of a chief may, in the general case, at all events, rely upon the good offices of the subjects of his protector, e.g. among the Kimbunda (Magyar, *op. cit.* i. 445). Among the Arabs, 'the compact is primarily between two individuals, but the obligation contracted by the single clansman is binding on all his "friends," i.e. on the other members of the kin' (*Isl. Sem.* p. 315; see Herod. iii. 8, quoted above, § 16). By the Southern Slavs each participant is recognized as a near relative by the kinsmen of his chosen brother, the brotherhood being regarded as a true relationship (Kraus, *op. cit.* p. 624; Ciesowski, *op. cit.* pp. 90-101); and, among the Somali and Orsana, a stranger admitted to friendship becomes entitled to all the rights of a tribesman (Paulitschke, *op. cit.* p. 246).

vii. What purposes are served by the compact.

49. It is clear from what has already been said that the rights and duties which spring from this relation are not the same in all cases. In some the bond amounts to little more than a formal declaration of mutual goodwill. Thus the friendships between girls among the Orsana and in certain districts of the Abruzzi are strong and intimate, but they create no new tie (see above, § 26).

The *magas* ceremony is confined to relatives; it strengthens the natural bond, but does not form a fresh one (see above, § 18); while, among the Swahili, the sole effect of the relation is to establish an obligation between the members to help one another in time of danger (Niese, *op. cit.* p. 240). In other cases the brotherhood seems to effect a complete identification of interests, as, for instance, in the case of the Polynesian *tau* (see below, § 52). It may, however, be affirmed that it is of the essence of the obligation imposed upon the parties to act towards one another faithfully and helpfully as true friends and loyal brothers. Thus we find, among some of the Australian tribes, that

'the drawing and also the drinking of blood on certain special occasions is connected with the idea that those who take part in the ceremony are thereby bound together in friendship and obliged to assist one another. At the same time it renders treachery impossible' (see above, § 12).

The same authorities add that the man taking part in the *magas* avenging expedition of the Arunta tribe

'assembled together, and, after each one had been touched with the girra made from the hair of the man whose death they were going out to avenge, they drew blood from their armholes and sprinkled it over one another' (Spencer and Gillen, *The Northern Tribes*, p. 598, cf. p. 466 f.). 'Sometimes, for the same purpose, blood is drawn from the arm and drunk, and on rare occasions a man, declining thus to plunge himself, will have his mouth forced open and the blood poured into it' (ib. p. 598).

Among the Hungarians of the 9th cent. the chief men, in taking the oath of fealty to the chief, signified, by shedding their blood into a single bowl, that the blood of the oath-breaker should be shed as theirs had been (J. G. Schwandtner, *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*, Vienna, 1746, i. 6). Again, it is said of the Karons that, when individuals, villages, or clans unite in confederacies,

'the contracting parties bind themselves by drinking spirits in which the blood of both has been mixed, and in which a number of weapons have been dipped. The blood of each is supposed to live as an agent or ambassador in the blood of the other, and thus to prevent treachery. The weapons are likewise invoked to prevent treachery' (Bancroft, *op. cit.* pp. 148-149).

The same notion underlies the brotherhood between the king of Unyoro and his servants, especially his cooks (*Swen Pasha in Central Africa*, ed. G. Schweinfurth, Eng. tr., London, 1886, p. 78), the oaths of those making a league or conspiracy, and the *ngis-ngimpe* relation of South Australia (see above, §§ 2, 3, 23). So, too, among the Melankaps, the object of making brothers by exchange of gifts was to ensure that the Europeans should not cease to be friendly and injure the natives when at a distance from them (J. Whitehead, *Explor. of M. Koro Baku, N. Borneo*, London, 1893, p. 123).

50. The members of the companionships of the old Norsemen were bound to avenge one another as if they were truly brothers (see above, § 7), and a like obligation is imposed on those who have entered into brotherhood in Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Bosnia (Ciesowski, *op. cit.* p. 60). Among the Wyandots, the youthful braves 'agree to be perpetual friends to each other, or more than brothers. Each reveals to the other the secrets of his life, and counsels with him on matters of importance, and defends him from wrong and violence, and at his death is chief mourner' (*1 RBEW*, p. 68; see § 26 above, where references to similar statements regarding other tribes will be found). So, too, the Afghan tribesmen who join in 'groundness' for mutual defence and support are regarded as more than natural brothers (see above, § 20); and the Fijian brotherhood in arms wears the appearance of a marriage contract (ib.)—a characteristic which may be compared with that of the bond of the 'nasil,' which can be dissolved only by the formula of triple divorces (R. F. Barton, *First Footsteps in East Africa*, London, 1886, p. 124). The parties to the blood rite among the Balonda become 'perpetual friends and relations' (Livingstone, *Missionary*

Travels and Researches, p. 408); and it has been observed (Wilson and Folkin, *op. cit.* ii. 41; cf. Grant, *op. cit.* p. 271; F. L. James, *The Wild Tribes of the Soudan*, p. 91) that, if an African be your blood-brother, you may really trust him. 'This contract is never broken.' Among the Somali and Ororo, the saliva ceremony secures to the stranger a tribesman's rights (Paukitchka, *op. cit.* p. 246), while, among the Karons, the blood-covenant

'is of the strongest force. It covers not merely an agreement of peace or truce, but also a promise of mutual assistance in peace and war. It also covers to the covenanting parties mutual tribal rights. If they are chiefs, the covenant embraces the entire tribe. If one is a private individual, the immediate family and direct descendants are included in the agreement. I never heard of the blood-covenant being broken. The blood-covenant gives even a foreigner every right which he would have if born a member of the tribe' (Leather, *op. cit.* p. 214).

viii. What legal consequences flow from the compact.

51. In certain cases the relation of brotherhood operates as a bar to marriage. Thus it is said of the Cherokees (see above, § 24) that they 'reckon a friend in the same rank with a brother, both with regard to marriage and any other affair of social life.' So, too, Lery ('Historie navigationis in Brasiliam,' cap. 10, in De Bry, *Americae totius pars*, Frankfurt, 1592) says that among certain Brazilian tribes

'nemo eorum matrem, sororem, vel filiam in uxorem ducit, sed quorum ratio nulla habetur, patrem uxorem ducit; adeoque haec dicitur. Tamen . . . nemo filium aut sororem sui alterius matrimonium sibi jungere potest. In istis Americis dicitur ejus tunc est cum quodam amicitia et non inter coniungit et coniungit.'

In some of the islands of Torres Straits a man may not marry the sister either of his particular friend or of his comrade in the ceremony of initiation (Haddon, *JAI* xix. 411-412, 315, 258); nor may those intermarry who take part in the *peleu* ceremony of Ceram, or in the friendly associations of individuals or villages at Wotar (Riedel, *op. cit.* pp. 129-129, 440-447; see above, § 14). Among the Murmi a similar bar subsists between the brothers (see above, § 19); it is said of the Kanakas of the Bismarck Archipelago, that if two chiefs enter into an artificial relationship, their peoples are precluded by the closeness of the connexion from intermarriage (Jonckim Graf Pfeil, *Studien u. Beobachtungen aus der Sudsee*, Brunswick, 1899, p. 26); and a like prohibition affects those who are *aga-agama* to one another, and the brothers and even the sons of a Circassian fraternity (see above, §§ 23, 27). Czapewski, to whose work reference must be made for details, observes that, among the Southern Slavs, the institution of brotherhood is giving way to the influence of modern ideas; and that, if we were to gather from the different districts the various notions held regarding its legal and social consequences, we should be able to construct a complete scheme of the stages through which it has passed. Thus, in some cases, the relationship does not constitute a bar to marriage; in some, it makes a marriage impossible not only between the parties to the rite, but between their children; while, in Prilep, it precludes marriage not only between the parties and between their children, but between those of their relatives who participated in the distribution of gifts at the time of the ceremony (Czapewski, *op. cit.* pp. 88, 94, 99-100; see above, § 28). We have in the last case, as Czapewski observes, an interesting example of a collective brotherhood. The rite is performed by the representatives of the two kindreds; but that the relatives are also included in the association by accepting presents from the principals is shown by the fact that they may not intermarry.

52. According to Forbes, if one of the members of a Timorese brotherhood comes to the other brother's house, he 'is in every respect regarded as free, and as much at home as its owner. Nothing is withheld from him; even his friend's wife is not

denied him, and a child born of such a union would be regarded by the husband as his' (*op. cit.* p. 452). By the terms of the compact of the *fatuda* the brothers enjoyed community of wives and property; although, in later times, and in the case of Europeans, those obligations may not have been treated as literally binding (Ellis, *History of Madagascar*, i. 190). So, too, the members of the *ompanaga* of the Ovaherero, and, according to A. von Chamisso, 'brothers' in the Marshall Islands have their wives in common (see above, §§ 25, 26); and in the countries of the Kimbunda, and among the Wakamba, the brothers exercised mutual privileges over wives and property (Magyar, *op. cit.* i. 201, 202; Hildebrandt, *op. cit.* p. 387). Ellis (*Polynesian Researches*, London, 1831, iii. 124) observes that the wife of every individual is the wife also of his father, or friend; and an earlier authority (W. Wilson, *A Missionary Voyage to the S. Pacific Ocean in 1796-1798, on the ship 'Duff,' commanded by Capt. James Wilson*, London, 1799, p. 360), in making a similar statement, adds that a true 'must indulge in no liberties with the sisters or the daughters, because they are considered as his own sisters, and incest is held in abhorrence by them; nor will any temptation engage them to violate this bond of parity.' Further, it is said, on the testimony of Lieut. Corner, a previous observer, that the relation of *tau* formed between persons of different sexes operated as an absolute bar to all personal liberties. The later missionaries, however, doubted the accuracy of Corner's evidence, at all events in regard to the Tahitians of their time (ib. of § 43 above). Lastly, the provisions of the Syro-Roman law (see above, § 44) point to a compact, the parties to which held their wives and children in common.

ix. General observations on the nature and history of the institution.

53. We have seen in the preceding pages that the form of the rite by which the bond is constituted is not always one and the same. In some cases the use of blood is the only requisite; in some it is an essential element; in some it is a mere accessory; and in some it does not enter into the ceremony. And the question presents itself—Is the blood-rite the original type of which other forms are variations, or is it itself but one of the forms in which the need of man for union with, and security against, his fellow found expression? It is, no doubt, true that, in many instances, the use of the blood, while it is of the essence of the solemnity, is accompanied or followed by some other ritual act or acts, such as an exchange of food or weapons or garments or other gifts; and it has been argued that a form in which the performance of such act or acts is sufficient without the use of blood for the completion of the rite is a mutilated form, which has lost what was originally essential and retained only what was originally of secondary importance. Such an explanation, however, hardly meets the case: for it does not account for those modes of entering into the compact with which the blood-rite is never found in connexion. It suggests, of course, that even in those cases the use of blood at one time formed part of the ceremony; but there is no evidence to that effect. Now, in the instances which we have adduced, we have found that the parties to the compact are brought together in a great number of different ways. They exchange blood or wine or food or names or garments or weapons or rings of the skins of sacrificial victims or gifts of some sort or kind. Or they dip their hands or their weapons in one another's blood or in the blood of the sacrifice, or shake hands smeared with blood, or let the blood mingle as it falls to the ground. Or they join in holding the victim during the sacrifice, or hold branches while an imprecation is being pronounced or blood

is being let. Or one of them rubs the other with his saliva; or a father makes his child *agua-aguampe* to another's child. Or, lastly, the union may be due to communality of aim and interest, as in the case of companions in arms; or to circumstances beyond the control of the parties, as in the case of those who are initiated together, or associated as operator and patient in the performance of the initiatory rite; or to the pressure of an overwhelming necessity, as in the case of the fugitive and his protector. It is to be observed that it is quite in accordance with primitive ideas to regard 'the nature of anything as inhering in all its parts' (H. Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, London, 1879, II, § 346), even when the parts are separated from it (cf. E. Durkheim, 'La Prohibition de l'inceste et ses origines,' *L'Année sociologique*, I, 51); and to treat as parts of a man's substance not only his blood, saliva, umbilical cord, sweat, and other excreta, hair, nail parings, and the like, but also his garments, weapons, and name. To our thinking, blood is, weapons are not, vitally connected with the man himself; but, to the mind of the savage, the connexion is of the same quality in either case.

As an illustration of this mode of thought, it may not be out of place to indicate here a feature of primitive 'giving' which sharply distinguishes it from its modern counterpart. It is hardly an exaggeration to say generally of uncivilized man what has been said of the Western Eskimo—that 'a free and disinterested gift is wholly unknown to him.' The gift is regarded as an investment, and a return is expected (see P. J. H. Grierson, *The Silent Trade*, Edin., 1903, p. 16). But it seems probable that this conception has its origin elsewhere than in the desire to lose nothing by the transaction. It is rooted rather in the notion that, unless a return be made, the recipient obtains a power over the donor which he may use to the latter's injury. 'Payment,' says Hartland (op. cit. II, 75; cf. Crawley, op. cit. pp. 236-246, 256-257), 'is always held to neutralise a witch's power over a person through something received from him'; and instances are not wanting in which savages have refused to touch the articles set out by traders for their acceptance, until the latter have taken what was offered to them (see Giffen). Accordingly, an exchange of weapons no less than of blood is regarded as an exchange of very substance, and as establishing between the parties 'an actual community of nature' (H. Spencer, loc. cit.; see Hartland, op. cit. II, 86-116, 468 and *passim*). This community is brought about not only by an interchange of externals, but by the devotion of the parties to a course of conduct which demands an absolute identity of aims and interests, or by outward circumstances which force them into an intimate contact. In other words, they enter voluntarily or involuntarily into a relation in which each is regarded not by way of metaphor or fiction, but in very truth, as the *alter ego* of the other. Now, it has been said that, according to primitive notions, blood-brotherhood 'is not a relationship personal to the two parties alone, but extends to the whole of each clan; my brother is, or becomes, the brother of all my brethren; the blood which flows in the veins of either party to the blood-covenant flows in the veins of all his kin' (P. B. Jevons, *Introduction to the History of Religion*, London, 1902, p. 89; cf. W. R. Smith, p. 215).

We seem, at first sight, at all events, to be in the presence of two conflicting theories. First of all, we have what we may call the 'identity-theory,' which regards the bond as personal to the parties to it, and explains the blood-rite not as the typical form, but as one of many forms; and, secondly, we have what we may call

the 'kinship-theory,' which regards the bond as a union of kins, and explains all forms, other than that of the blood-rite, as variations, or modifications, or deteriorations of it (see Hartland, op. cit. II, p. 248 ff.; esp. p. 257). It must be admitted that the evidence which bears upon the claims of those rival views is, in some respects, very imperfect. Not infrequently we are supplied with full details of the ceremonies performed, while we are left wholly in the dark as to the legal incidents of the bond. In other cases, we are told what is its operation, but not a word is said as to the ritual accompanying its formation. For example, we have no facts before us to show how the compact was constituted in the case of the Brazilian *Afourasemp*, or in that of the Ovaherero *omanganga* (see above, §§ 51, 55). At the same time, facts are reported which seem to be hardly reconcilable with the 'kinship-theory' as stated. It is, for instance, clear that in many cases the obligations undertaken bind only those persons who are parties to the compact. Thus, the Yahgams of Cape Horn enter into formal friendships by exchanging gifts, by painting themselves in a distinctive fashion, and by assuming one or other of the titles of blood-relationship (see above, § 25). There is no evidence to show that the reciprocal rights and duties of the friends extend to persons other than themselves, or that, by assuming such titles, they mean to do more than emphasize the intimacy of the relation between them. And that this is their meaning is made the more probable by a somewhat analogous instance from Fiji, where comrades in war 'are spoken of as man and wife, to indicate the closeness of their military union.' So, too, the compact which subsists between those who are companions in arms, or who have exchanged names, or who are *agua-aguampe* to each other, seems to be strictly personal, even where they are regarded as subject to certain marriage prohibitions, as among the Cherokees, some of the islanders of Torres Straits, the natives of Tahiti, and the Narrinyeri (see §§ 20, 24, 51, 52). The effect of the *laco*-relationship will be noted below.

In the cases already mentioned, blood is not used in the ceremony; but there are cases in which it is used, and in which only the parties to the bond are affected. We have, for example, the temporary blood-bond, such as that which unites the members of a league, or of an Arunta punitive expedition (see above, § 9). In either instance, its purpose is to prevent treachery; in neither is it productive of a union of kins; and the same observations apply to those who join in 'going under the tarp' (see above, § 7). In Timor and Borneo, and among the Wachaga, while a chief may represent his tribe, a simple tribesman binds himself only; and other examples of a like limitation have already been given (see above, § 47). In some of these cases the parties are entitled to share in one another's most sacred rights (see above, § 52); and that these privileges are not necessarily connected with the use of blood in the constitution of the bond, appears from the instance of the Polynesian *toio* and that of the Wakamba fugitive (see above, §§ 62, 81). At the same time it is quite true that sometimes they are found as consequences of a pactio solemnized with blood, as in the cases of the Kimbunda and of the natives of Timor and Madagascar (see above, §§ 2, 13, 52). Thus friend is identified with friend; each is entitled to share the other's wife and property; each must regard and treat the other's sisters and daughters as if they were his own. At the same time, the relation is, in its inception at all events, a union of individuals and not a union of kins. The case of the Wakamba is peculiar. The fugitive, by a solemn act, acquires a right of participation in his pro-

teacher's wife and house, and a claim on the support and assistance of his protector's tribe (see above, § 31). Here the relation extends beyond the parties to it, and is at the same time accompanied by privileges which are strictly personal to them. It may be thought that this instance presents to us the two theories in combination—the theory that the parties are made one, with the result that they, and they alone, enjoy certain intimate rights; and the theory that they are made kinsmen, with the result that the fugitive can rely upon the assistance of the tribe to which his protector belongs. This view receives some confirmation from a curious mode of peace-making practiced by the Maasi. One of their women proceeds with her infant to the border of the tribe with whom peace is to be concluded—the Kaha, for example—and meets there a Kaha woman with her infant. The women exchange their children in the presence of witnesses, and each puts the stranger child for a moment to her breast. Then each takes back her child, and each, having been cut by one of the witnesses, smeared the blood from her wound on a piece of a bullock's heart and thrusts it into the other's mouth. During these proceedings the Maasi representative and the Kaha headman make protestations of mutual goodwill, and imprecate evil upon the breaker of the compact (Merker, *op. cit.* p. 101). Here we have a rite compounded of an adoption ceremony and a brotherhood ceremony; and this instance suggests an explanation of the fact that among the Mapuches, a father, by making a stranger his son's *laca*, or namesake, adopts him into his family (E. R. Smith, *op. cit.* pp. 230-232; see above, § 24). The parties become relatives by virtue of an exchange of names, and of giving food and eating what is given; and it may be that, in this case, the first of the theories above mentioned has yielded to the second—that the 'kinship-theory' has displaced the 'identity-theory.' Further, it is not without significance that, so far as we know, the blood-rite, as productive of a relationship which extends to the whole clan, is not to be found among the rudest peoples, such as the Yagans of Cape Horn, the Botocudos, the Andaman Islanders, the Semangs, and Aetas, the Kubes of Sumatra, the Veddas of Ceylon, the dwarf races of Central and Western Africa, the Hottentots and Bushmen, and the natives of Australia, while the use of blood and other media is found among some of them in the formation of compacts creative of rights and duties which affect only the persons immediately concerned.

54. Plainly it is matter of no small difficulty to determine what is the relation of these two theories to one another; and, accordingly, we shall content ourselves with an attempt to indicate the direction in which the evidence points. Now, it seems to show that the relation with which we are dealing was not primarily and essentially a relation of kins. We are not concerned to affirm or deny that the tie which held men together in the earliest times known to us was the tie of blood. What we do assert is that primarily and essentially this relation was strictly personal to the parties to it. They might be forced into it by the pressure of external circumstances, or they might enter into it of their own free will. They might be kinsmen, as we count kinship, or they might be strangers in blood. But, whether akin or not, they were somehow brought into a contact so intimate that they became, in the eyes of their fellows, possessed of a common nature. The logical result of this community was that each of the parties became entitled to the rights and subject to the disabilities of the other. Each had a right to share the other's wife and property; each was precluded, wherever marriage of a sister

by a brother or of a daughter by a father was prohibited, from marrying the other's sisters or daughters. These marriage bars, even if they did not owe their origin to a recognition of the principle of blood-relationship, were plainly susceptible of being referred to it, and accounted for by it, when it came to be recognized; and this explanation would appear most natural when the use of blood entered into the formation of the bond. Accordingly it would hardly be matter of surprise that, where circumstances favoured the change, the 'kinship-theory' gradually encroached upon the 'identity-theory' and finally usurped its place.

55. What, it may be asked, is the nature of the sanction which supports the compact? It cannot have escaped observation that, in many instances at all events, the institution with which we are dealing closely resembles an oath or an ordeal (see above, § 7). An oath consists in general of two parts—of an asseveration that what is said is true, or that what is undertaken will be performed, and an imprecation of evil by the person taking the oath upon himself, if he prove forsworn. Sometimes a divinity is invoked not merely to bear witness to the oath, but to punish the oath-breaker. Sometimes more things, such as weapons, are introduced into the ceremony to symbolize the evil which will fall upon the perjured person—he will be cut down with a sword, or pierced with an arrow, or run through with a spear. What Polybius (iii. 95) says of the oath with which the treaties between Rome and Carthage were solemnized is very instructive. The Carthaginians swore by the gods of their country. The Romans swore 'in accordance with ancient custom' and in addition by Mars and Quirinus. He who made oath 'according to ancient custom' took a stone in his hand and said—'If I keep faith, may I fare well; but if I knowingly deceive, then may I, while all other men are assured of their right to their country, their laws, their gods, and their sepulchres, be alone cast out as I now cast out this stone'; and, with these words, he cast the stone away. It seems plain that we have here an account of two forms. In the later form the gods are invoked to be witnesses to the oath, and to punish the oath-breaker. In the earlier form the gods are not invoked, and the stone is thrown away to signify the fate of the false swearer (see H. A. A. Duns, *Der sacrale Schwur*, Jena, 1857, p. 13 ff.; O. Schrader, *Reallexikon d. indogerm. Alterthumskunde*, Strassburg, 1901, p. 108; cf. Grimm, *op. cit.* p. 397; E. W. Leist, *Germanische Rechtsgeschichte*, Jena, 1894, pp. 230 f., 703 f.). In many instances an act of touching is an essential part of the ceremony. Thus, in the Indian form, the man who took the oath by touching himself drew down the powers of evil upon his head (Schrader, *op. cit.* p. 187); and, in old Germany, he must touch some object which brought him into relation either with the gods whom he invoked, or with the punishment which followed upon perjury. In Scandinavia the oath-breaker touched a ring smeared with blood and consecrated to a divinity; and it was in accordance with a very ancient German practice that a man sworn by his sword, while Christians swore by the cross, by relics, and by book and bell (Grimm, *op. cit.* p. 306 f., where many other forms will be found). Sometimes an animal was slaughtered to show how the perjurer would be dealt with—'Juppiter populum Romanum sic ferito, ut ego hunc porcum hic bodie feram; tantoque magis ferito, quanto magis potes pollesque' (Livy, i. 24. 8). See on oaths A. H. Post, *Grundriss d. ethnologischen Jurisprudenz*, Oldenburg and Leipzig, 1896, ii. 478 ff., and art. OATH.

56. When we turn to the bond of friendship, and

examine the cases in which blood is employed in its constitution, we find variations in form, remarkably similar to those which we have been discussing. Sometimes the gods are adjured to punish those who break the compact (see above, § 10, 11), or simply to be witnesses to it (see above, § 7, 12, 14, 16). Sometimes they are made parties to it (see above, § 8, 16), or are invoked while an animal is being slaughtered (see above, § 10, 17). In other cases, the parties touch the blood (see above, § 7, 8), or dip their weapons in it (see above, § 9, 14), or touch or hold an animal while one of them slays it (see above, § 10, 15). Weapons or other articles are often introduced into the ceremony either as a 'witness' of the compact (see above, § 18) or as a symbol of the punishment which awaits the breaker of it (see above, § 14, and cf. § 23); and imprecations are frequently pronounced without any direct appeal to a supernatural power (see above, § 9, 10, 12, 14, 63). In some cases, as among the Bali, the rite consists of two parts,—of a blood-rite effecting the formation of the bond, and of a blood-rite with the operation of an oath,—while, in other cases, as among the Mandayan Duma, the oath stands alone (see above, § 13). There are instances, however, in which the ceremony consists of drinking or sprinkling blood without invocations or imprecations (see above, § 2, 40). In this connexion, Junker's (op. cit. p. 408; see above, § 5) account of the rite as practised by certain tribes south of the Welle is very instructive. The parties sit opposite to one another. A scratch is made on the chest of each, and a drop of blood is squeezed out. Each wipes the blood off the other with a piece of sugar-cane, which he chews, and the fibres of which he afterwards blows over his wound. At the same time, he repeats the points which have induced him to enter into the compact, and which are to be kept sacred; and at the end of each clause he adds the solemn words: 'If thou dost not hold to this, may my blood destroy thee' (cf. § 40). Here, then, we have an instance of a relation in which blood is the medium not only of formation, but of punishment (see Westermarck, *MF*, London, 1908, II. 206 ff., 208 ff.). We have, in other words, an example of the operation of the principle which underlies the oath and the ordeal. That the same principle operates in cases in which the blood of the parties is not employed appears from such instances as that of the Bali, where the parties make friendship by eating portions of the same fruit or vegetable, and touching themselves ceremoniously with it before they eat (see above, § 18); or as that of the natives of Shira, where the 'brothers' hold a goat while it is being slaughtered, and fit rings of its skin upon one another's fingers (see above, § 21). A further confirmation is furnished by the cases in which the formation of the compact is due not to the volition of the parties, but to the force of external circumstances. The bond between them is of so intimate a character—the union between them is so complete—that its rupture cannot fail to be productive of evil consequences to the man who breaks it; and thus the sanction has its origin not in the intention of the parties, but in the essential character of the relation. It may well be that, in many instances, the sole punishment which awaits the false 'brother' is that which follows a breach of tribal custom or an outrage on public opinion. Still, it appears to be not improbable that, even in these instances, tribal custom and public opinion owe their force to a sanction of the nature indicated above.

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BROTHERHOODS.—Brotherhood, in its literal sense, is the condition in which a male person is descended from the same father or mother as one or more other persons; full brotherhood, that in which he is descended from the same father and the same mother as one or more other persons. Thus the sons of Jacob by his two wives and by their two handmaids together address their unknown brother Joseph: 'Thy servants are twelve brethren, the sons of one man in the land of Canaan' (Gen 42¹³). In theology, the term is metaphorically applied in two senses: the general sense in which all men are brethren, sometimes limited to those who are of the same faith, as when St. Peter says, 'Honour all men; love the brotherhood' (1 P 2¹⁷); and the particular sense in which it signifies persons living together in artificial communities as natural brothers live together in families before they leave the family home to establish families of their own. The ideal of brotherhood is one of the closest of all human relations—the only one that implies equality—there being no differences between brothers other than that arising from age.

The system of living in cloistered communities with a religious object belongs to the Brahman religion, and was adapted by Sakyamuni to the Buddhist religion, and has been largely imported into Christianity. Under it, men have retired from the world by hundreds and by thousands. The grand Buddhist monastery of Nalanda, consisting of six convents, had ten thousand monks. They employed themselves chiefly in the study of the books of their religion and of sciences, especially medicine and arithmetic. In Ceylon, the monks take upon them vows not to kill, not to rob, to observe celibacy, not to lie, not to drink strong liquors, not to take food after noonday, not to dance or sing or make music; to use no perfumes, unguents, or ornaments; to have no luxurious bed or chair, and never to possess gold or silver. The general idea involved in these communities or brotherhoods is that of a simple and studious life, devoted mainly to the contemplation of religious subjects, and existing in circumstances of self-denial and asceticism—an ideal which has rarely been maintained for long in its original vigour.

The Buddhist monastic system has been practised from ancient times in Tibet. The monastery is there termed *gompa*, or 'solitary place'. Lhasa, the centre of religion in Tibet, was till recently inaccessible to Europeans, although it had been visited by Sarat Chandra Das and other Hindus. One of the most ancient and famous of the monasteries in the neighbourhood is that of Samye, visited by Chandra Das in 1882. It contains a chief temple, *Wa-tse*, four minor temples, and eight lesser shrines, the dwellings of the monks being in a two-storeyed building near the chief temple. The grand monastery of Tashi Lhumpo is another, and a sketch of it has been published by the Royal Geographical Society. Here the monks are summoned by a trumpet to the great hall for prayers at 2 a.m. At the monastery of Yarlung Bhotag live 40 monks and as many nuns, whose children are brought up to succeed them. This is allowed because of the loneliness of the situation of the monastery. In the *gompas* at Lhasa there are said to be 15,000 lamas, and in the province of Amdo nearly 30,000 in 24 monasteries; and it is estimated that one-seventh of the entire population belong to the priesthood. The monastery of Kumbum has a

temple covered in with tiles of gold, in commemoration of Tsongkapa, a Tibetan saint.

In the British provinces of Little Tibet, monasteries exist, which are thus described: The monastery at Kee in Spiti has the appearance of a hill fort crowning an eminence. That at Kyalang in Lahul stands on the projecting spur of a mountain side, distant from all other habitations, at an elevation of more than 12,000 feet above the level of the sea, and is approached by a steep and difficult path, which at some seasons is dangerous. In the spring of 1874 a monk and a nun were buried in an avalanche while walking up this path. In the richer monasteries in Tibet proper are extensive wardrobes of great value. Along the walls of the galleries are arranged numerous praying wheels. On one side of the hall is a wheel 5 feet in diameter, on each revolution of which a bell is struck. Outside the main building are the cells of the brethren. Col. Paske witnessed the performance by the monks of Kyalang of what is termed by him a spirit dance. The abbot took his position, attended by a band of musicians, who played loudly, when a party of 30 or 40 monks entered attired in grotesque costumes and wearing masks; after an excited and noisy dance, they retired to change these costumes.

The Tibetans take off their hats when they pass a monastery and shuffle past it on their knees. In these circumstances, it is easy to understand that the monks have acquired great political power.

In Siam, the monasteries are recruited from every class of society, especially the higher classes, and every son of a respectable family spends a year in one of them—a system which reminds one of that of the lay brethren in several English orders.

The account given by Herodotus (ii. 57) of the Egyptian priests implies that they lived in communities. He says: 'They are of all men the most excessively attentive to the worship of the gods, and observe the following ceremonies. They drink from cups of brass, which they scour every day; nor is this custom practised by some and neglected by others, but all do it. They wear linen garments, constantly fresh washed, and they pay particular attention to this. They are circumcised for the sake of cleanliness, thinking it better to be clean than handsome. The priests shave their whole body every third day, that neither lice nor any other impurity may be found upon them when engaged in the service of the gods. The priests wear linen only, and shoes of byblus, and are not permitted to wear any other garments or other shoes. They wash themselves in cold water twice every day and twice every night; and, in a word, they use a number of ceremonies. On the other hand, they enjoy no slight advantages, for they do not consume or expend any of their private property; but sacred food is cooked for them, and a great quantity of beef and game is allowed each of them every day, and wine from the grapes is given them; but they may not taste of fish. . . . The service of each god is performed, not by one, but by many priests, of whom one is chief priest; and when any one of them dies, his son is put in his place.'

It was in Egypt that the monastic movement in Christianity commenced. It is alleged that Frontinus established the first 'laura' in the year 151 at Nitria. In the early part of the 4th cent. the movement had taken root. It is said that the sanctity of St. Anthony attracted so many monks to his neighbourhood that he had to undertake the direction of them. St. Pachomius also, who died in 348, was head of a community; and that under Apollonius consisted of 500 indi-

viduals. The name *Dér el-Bahari* signifies 'the convent of the North.'

From Egypt the practice speedily spread to Rome and to Gaul; and, when Augustine came to England, he found Celtic monks established there. Abbot Gasquet enumerates not fewer than 21 different orders.

They are distinguished into five classes as follows:—(1) Four orders of monks: the Benedictines, established at Monte Cassino early in the 6th cent. A.D.; the Cluniacs, dating from the 10th cent.; the Cistercians and the Carthusians, from the 11th. (2) Three orders of Canons Regular: the Augustinian, the Premonstratensian, and the Gilbertine. [The last is the only order originating in England, and was established in 1148.] (3) Two military orders: those of the Knights of St. John and the Knights Templar. (4) Four orders of Friars: the Dominicans, or Black Friars; the Franciscans, or Grey Friars; the Carmelites, or White Friars; and the Austin Friars. [These were all introduced into England in the 13th cent., and are commemorated in London by the names of places where their houses formerly stood.] (5) Eight lesser orders of Friars: the Brethren de Penitencia; the Pied Friars at Norwich; the Brethren of St. Mary de Arenas at Westminster; the Brethren de Domine; the Trinitarian Friars; the Crutched Friars; the Bethlehemite Friars; the Boni homines. [These all date from the middle of the 13th century.]

The expression 'brotherhood' was also anciently applied to Gilds. The popular assemblies in the Cinque Ports are styled Court of Brotherhood and Guestling. Before the passing of the Judicature Act in 1873, the judges and sergeants-at-law together constituted the Society of Sergeants Inn, and the sergeants were always addressed by the judges in court as 'brother.'

See COMMUNITIC SOCIETIES, MONASTICISM.

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E. W. BRADBROOK.
BROTHERLY LOVE (Buddhist).—See LOVE (Buddhist).

BROTHERLY LOVE (Christian).—The principle of brotherly love was not first enunciated by Christianity. Exponents of earlier systems had given it notable expression, both among Gentiles and among Jews (see, e.g., Ex 23¹, Lv 19¹⁸, Dt 23¹, 24¹⁷, To 4, etc.; cf. art. 'Brotherly Love' in JE). Even the 'Golden Rule' had been anticipated, at least in a negative form (see Allen on Mt 7¹²), and the association of the Christian with the Jewish doctrine is openly declared both by our Lord (Mt 7¹² 23¹) and by His Apostles (Ro 13¹⁰, Ja 2⁸). In the earlier dispensation, however, the conception was narrowed by racial prejudice. For the practical realization of what was there implicit we must turn at once to the words of Jesus Himself.

1. The teaching of Jesus.—(a) The teaching of Jesus not only inculcates the duty of brotherly love (Mt 5⁴³ 22³⁹ 7¹², Mk 10¹⁹, Lk 10²⁷ etc.), but assigns to it the utmost emphasis. From His doctrine of the Divine Fatherhood He leads us to infer the doctrine of human brotherhood (see the use of ἀδελφός in Mt 5²² 7⁹ 12⁵⁰ etc., and cf. 23¹). The love of our neighbour is placed side by side with our love of God as the supreme obligation of religion (22³⁹⁻⁴⁰); and so inseparable are the two, that in Christ's portrayal the heavenly love finds in the earthly love alike its truest expression and its unerring criterion (26¹, Mk 9³⁷, Lk 9⁴⁸; cf. Jn 13³⁵ 15¹²). No formal devotion grants

exemption from the claims of justice and mercy (Mt 23¹⁷). To be wrong in one's relations with a brother is no less than to be wrong in one's relations with God (Rom 2¹³).

(b) There is a noble universalism in the love thus enjoined by our Lord. In His thought the term 'neighbour' loses all such limitations as in the earlier Jewish interpretation were imposed by national or personal animosity. It embraces all men (7¹²) irrespective of race (Lk 10²⁵⁻²⁷), of social status (14¹²⁻¹³), of character (Mt 5⁴⁴⁻⁴⁵), and even of personal relationships (2¹⁶, Lk 10⁴¹). While the wider human brotherhood itself includes an inner brotherhood of discipleship (Mk 3¹⁴, Jn 13³⁵ 15¹⁹), all children of the common Father have a place in the one great fraternity of love.

2. The Apostolic writings.—(a) The prominence assigned to brotherly love in our Lord's own teaching is re-affirmed in that of His Apostles. Frequent exhortations are found in the Epistles reminding the early Christians of the obligations it involves (see, e.g., Ro 12¹⁰, He 13¹⁻², 1 P 1²², 1 Jn 3¹¹ 4²⁰). So well known, indeed, are these obligations, that in one place there is almost an apology for allusion to them (1 Th 4⁹). Whether viewed from the standpoint of worship (*προσευχή*) or from that of piety (*εὐσεβεία*), love is to be the inevitable outcome of religion (see Ja 1⁷, 2 P 1⁷), and all that is implicit in it St. Paul sets himself carefully to expound (1 Co 13). Its practical influence in the life of the Church is to be seen in its power to place master and slave upon equal terms (Philem 1⁶), and in the adoption of 'brother' as an acknowledged term both of address (see 1 Th 1² etc.) and of reference (1 Co 8³, Ja 1¹⁰, 1 Jn 3²). Even so specific an expression as 'the brotherhood' appears to have been recognized before A.D. 84 to signify the body of Christian believers (1 P 3⁷ 5⁹).

(b) The brotherly love thus required or assumed is regarded as essential to the Christian life. Its obligation is 'the royal law' (Ja 2⁸). Its absence nullifies all other virtues (1 Co 13¹⁻³); its presence implies fulfilment of all duty (Ro 13¹⁰, Gal 5²²). It is, in fact, the pledge of a live faith (Ja 2²⁴⁻²⁵), and the criterion of true sonship (1 Jn 3¹⁰ 4⁷ 5¹⁹). In all this the servants' doctrine is as their Lord's.

(c) It has been disputed, however, to what extent the Apostles are also at one with Christ in their conception of the scope within which this law of love holds sway. In favour of a distinction between the two points of view, it may be argued: (a) that the prevalent sense of ἀδελφότης in the NT is that of 'fellow-Christian'—a restricted meaning which is sometimes markedly imposed by the immediate context (see, e.g., 1 Co 5¹¹ 6¹¹); (b) that the love required frequently refers to the brotherhood of believers only (Ro 12¹⁰, 1 Th 4⁹, He 13¹, 1 P 1²² 3⁷ 5⁹); and (c) that, even in the report of our Lord's own teaching, the universalism of the Synoptic Gospels has, in the Fourth Gospel, been merged in the more limited conception (see Jn 13³⁵, 15¹⁹). On the other hand, it is quite clear, from such injunctions as are found in Gal 6¹⁰ and 1 Th 5¹³, that the Apostolic law of love towards men possessed as application as broad as humanity itself, and the specific reference of Ro 12¹⁰ shows that not even enemies were excluded from its operation. The teaching of Jesus, therefore, has not really been limited by His followers. The utmost that can be maintained is that the Apostles thought of two separate circles of brotherhood—the inner circle, which comprised their fellow-believers, and the outer circle, in which all mankind were allowed a place. They themselves specifically distinguish these two degrees of fellowship (see Gal 6¹⁰, 2 P 1⁷). Yet, though there may be special stress upon the more limited love, the wider love is recognized as

its natural outgrowth and its perfect fulfilment (see 2 P 1⁷).

3. The practice of the Early Church.—Certain special forms, in which the brotherly love of the first Christians found expression, call for particular mention at this point. (a) *The Love-feast and the Lord's Supper*.—The early disciples used to share in a common meal, which was intended not only as a means of assisting the poorer brethren, but also as a manifestation of the Church's unity of spirit (see Ac 2⁴²⁻⁴³ 20⁷, and Tertullian's famous passage, *Apol.* 39). At first these love-feasts were connected with the Lord's Supper (see 1 Co 11²⁰⁻²², and Ign. *Smyr.* 8; and cf. art. AGAPE). But it was not long before the association of the two meals led to serious abuse (1 Co 11²⁰⁻²², Jude 12, 2 P 2¹³)—a fact which, along with the Roman government's suspicion of all secret societies, led, in the 2nd cent., to their ultimate separation (see Pliny's Letter to Trajan, 96). Even after the separation, however, the Lord's Supper, as well as the Agape, would constitute an expression of the disciples' common brotherhood (see 1 Co 10¹⁷). In the 16th cent. John Wesley made an interesting attempt to revive the love-feast in his own societies, and in an attenuated form it still survives among them.

(b) *Hospitality*.—The circumstances of the age in which Christianity had its birth rendered hospitality a practical necessity. It is not surprising, therefore, that the early Christian literature lays stress on this particular application of brotherly love. The entertainment of strangers was the duty not merely of the 'bishop' (1 Ti 3², Tit 1⁶), but also of the ordinary disciple. In certain Scriptural injunctions its exercise is confined to the case of fellow-Christians (1 P 4⁹, 3 Ju 1²), but the absence of restriction in other places shows that the broader conception of the duty was also appreciated (Ro 12¹³, He 13², 1 Ti 3², Clem. Rom. 1). See HOSPITALITY.

(c) *Charity*.—The practice of liberality towards the poor was another expression of the Church's brotherhood. As was natural, this was directed mainly to relieving the necessities of fellow-disciples (Ro 12¹³, He 6¹⁰, 1 Jn 3¹⁷⁻¹⁸, and probably Ac 5²), although the limitation is not always named (see He 13¹). A signal illustration of such charity is found in St. Paul's collection for the saints at Jerusalem (Ro 15²⁵, 2 Co 8¹⁻⁴ etc.). See CHARITY.

(d) *The 'communism' of the Early Church*.—It was in connexion with such care for the poorer brethren that an experiment was undertaken which has sometimes been described as the 'communism' of the Early Church. 'And all that believed were together, and had all things common; and they sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all, according as any man had need' (Ac 2⁴⁴; cf. also 4³⁴). We must be careful, however, not to exaggerate the significance of this beautiful manifestation of brotherly love.

There is, in the words of Peabody (*Jesus Christ and the Social Question*, p. 34), 'no evidence that what is reported of the little company at Jerusalem became in any degree a general practice, as though enjoined by the teaching of Jesus. No other instance of communal ownership is cited in the Book of Acts; but, on the other hand, the mother of Mark continues to own her home in Jerusalem (Ac 16¹⁵), and voluntary relief is sent from Antioch by "every man according to his ability" (11²⁹). The Apostle Paul knows nothing of such communistic regulations (1 Co 5¹¹, 1 Co 10²⁵). . . . In short, the communism of the day of Pentecost, like the gift of tongues described in the same chapter, was a spontaneous, unique, and unreplicated manifestation of that elevation and unity of spirit which possessed the little company in the first glow of their new faith. Still further, this sharing of each other's possessions, which was thus for the moment a sign of their perfect brotherhood, was even then no formal or compulsory system.' (See Ac 2⁴⁴; cf. further, art. COMMUNISM or GOODS.)

It is probable that the disappointment of the hope of a speedy Parousia, the rapid growth of the Church, and the presence of unworthy members in the Christian community, prevented the repetition or the expansion of this experiment (see J. H.

Monkton's essay in *The Social Teaching of the Bible*, pp. 214-219).

4. **Later development.**—The history of the world's social progress, since the days of the Apostles, has been largely that of the leavening of human life with the principles of brotherly love inherent in the Christian gospel. It is to its spirit that we owe the abolition of slavery, the cleansing of the prisons, the care of the sick poor, the suppression of infanticide, the exaltation of womanhood, the improvement in conditions of labour, and, in general, the birth of our modern concern for the down-trodden masses dwelling in our great cities. And, as men look forward to future progress, working towards a reformed society securely based upon truth, justice, and mercy, it is in the gospel of Christian brotherhood that the adequate motive-power is to be sought. Only when the universal brotherhood of man is acknowledged as an inevitable inference from the universal Fatherhood of God, only when the world's law of greed and hate is vanquished by the Christian law of service and love, will the principle of love have received its perfect fulfilment, and the City of God at length have been built upon earth.

LITMANN—Harnack and Hermann, *The Social Gospel* (1907). Farnaby, *Jesus Christ and the Social Question* (1901). Wescott, *Social Aspects of Christianity* (1887). Finslay, *Partnership in the Life of Christ* (1903). Keeble (ed.), *The Social Teaching of the Bible* (1903). *Orth. Brotherhood and Love* in *H.D.*, and 'Brotherhood' and 'Love' in *D.C.*

H. BROWNE.

BROTHERS AND SISTERS.—See **FAMILY**.

BROTHERS OF THE COMMON LIFE. etc.—See **BROTHERS OF THE COMMON LIFE**, etc.

BROWNING.—See **POETRY** (Christian).

BROWNIISM.—2. **Life of founder.**—Brownism derives its name from Robert Browne, third son of Anthony Browne of Tolethorpe,* Rutlandshire. Born about 1550,† of his earlier years nothing is known, but he appears to have entered Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, in 1570, and to have graduated in 1572.‡ The college at that time was noted rather for licence than for learning or seriousness.§ The university, however, as a whole was a centre of Puritan influence; and Browne, yielding to this, became one of those 'known and counted forward in religion.'¶ In other words, he was concerned about 'the woeful and lamentable state of the Church,' and its need of a further reformation. He 'debated' those things 'in himself and with others,' and 'suffered some trouble about them' from opponents. Then, at some indefinite time after 1572, he taught 'schollers' for the space of three years**—having a 'special care to teach religion,' and keeping them 'in such awe and good order as all the townsmen where he taught gave him witness.' Moreover, he still 'bent himself to search and find out the matters of the Church'; he 'laboured to put in practice all he found, both in his school and the town'; †† in consequence, 'he got himself much enmity of the preacher,' and was 'presently discharged.' For a time, however, he continued to teach 'with great good will and favour of the townsmen ‡‡ till' ¶¶

* The family is described as 'ancient and worshipful.' For full accounts of it, see *Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society*, vol. II, no. 2.

† An inference from the fact that he was over 80 at the time of his death in 1633.

‡ Marten, *History of Corpus Christi College*, p. 8. There is some uncertainty, as two others of the same name entered—the one in 1567, the other in 1568.

§ See Strype's *Parish*, 1821, bk. III. (sub. 1646).

¶ See his own *True and Short Declaration* (unpagged). A copy is in the Congregationalist for 1882; the original is in the Lambeth Library.

¶‡ A.

¶¶ A.

¶‡ Perhaps Stamford.

¶‡ Tradition says Ilington, but his residence there was some

outbreak of the plague occasioned his recall home to Tolethorpe. Next, with his father's leave, he returned to Cambridge, not for study so much as with the hope of staying 'his care' about the absorbing Church question. To this end he resorted to Mr. Richard Greenham, rector of Dry Drayton, 'whom of all others he heard any was most forward.'* Mr. Greenham allowed him—'with others'—to expound in his house 'that part of Scripture which was used to be read after meals'; and, contrary to law, did not forbid him to teach 'openly in the parish.' This led to his being 'moved' by 'certain in Cambridge,' and also with consent of the Mayor and Vice-Chancellor, to his preaching in Cambridge. He was not unwilling, but was checked by his objection to receiving the Bishop's 'licence and authority.' He could go so far as to be 'tried' (i.e. examined) by the Bishops, and to 'suffer their power, though unlawful, if in anything it did not hinder the Truth.'† But he would not admit their right to authorize or ordain him; and when Archbishop Grindall's 'seals were gotten him by his brother'‡—apparently three times over—he lost the first, burned the second, and, though he kept the third by him,§ openly declared that they meant nothing to him. He preached to his Cambridge congregation for 'about half a year,' but refused to take charge of them, because 'he saw the parishioners in such spiritual bondage that whosoever would take charge of them must also come into that bondage with them.' This confirmed him in the principle which had gradually been growing clear to his mind, that 'the Kingdom of God was not to be begun by whole parishes, but rather of the worthiest were they never so few';§ and, failing to convert the people to a like view, he 'sent back' the 'stipend' they had 'gathered' for him, 'and gave warning of his departure.'¶ His next sphere was in Norfolk—where some very forward** were said to be. He lodged with Robert Harrison,†† master of an hospital in Norwich; but went out from that city on preaching tours which roused the whole neighbourhood, and soon embroiled him with the Bishop.‡‡ Another result, however, was the gathering of a 'company' who agreed to join

time after he 'conformed' in 1585. The statement (Strype's *Parish*, bk. IV., sub. 1571) that he became chaplain to the Duke of Norfolk before 1571 is due to the confounding of him with another Robert Browne, the Duke's counsellor, often mentioned in the State Papers and Acts of Privy Council between 1571 and 1581. Nor is there any proof of his identity with the Browne cited in connection with 'Under-tree's Plot' (ib. bk. IV., sub. 1574), nor yet with the Browne (of Trinity College) 'appointed' before the Vice-Chancellor for Puritan leanings in 1579 (ib. bk. IV.).

* Rev. Richard Greenham, 'a man renowned for his care, piety and pains; and for his singular dexterity in comforting afflicted consciences' (see dedication of works to James I. [1612]).

† *True and Short Declaration*.

‡ Most likely his oldest brother Philip, made lieutenant of Little Barningham in 1561 (a family living), and deprived in 1586 for conformity. Two seals were issued—on 6th and 7th June 1579 respectively—one a Dismissal Letter, and one a Licence to preach (Durage, *The True Story of Robert Browne*, 1808, p. 6).

§ Later he parted with it (i.e. the Bishop's licence) to a Justice of the Peace, who delivered it to the Bishop of Norwich. But apparently he was not ordained.

¶ *True and Short Declaration*. This shows that Browne did not borrow his exemption of a Church, but worked it out for himself.

¶‡ About the same time he 'fell sick,' and during his illness was served by an 'officer named Bancroft' (Richard, future Archbishop) with the Bishop's letter forbidding him to preach.

** Immigrants from the Low Countries were numerous in and near Norwich—including some Anabaptists (Blomfield, *Norwich*, 1808-10, vol. II, pp. 297-8). Lollard influence was also strong (see, e.g., map in Travellers' *England in the Age of Wyclif*, 1890, p. 262).

†† A Cambridge academic whom he converted to his view. They went to Middlebury together, and there disagreed. He died before 1586 (Brodwell, *Rising of the Foundations*, see also Strype's *Parish*, bk. IV., cap. 25).

‡‡ See his (i.e. Frith's, Bishop of Norwich) letter to Burghley, April 18 and August 2, 1561 (Lansdowne MSS., xxxiii. 12, 20). Burghley was a distant kinsman to Browne.

together, on the basis of his teaching, for Church fellowship, by means of a solemn covenant to the following effect:*

(1) That they would 'keep and seek agreement' one with another under Christ's love.

(2) That they did choose, and would obey, covenants to 'touch them and watch for the salvation of their souls'—having had due trial and testimony of their fitness.

(3) That they would hold regular meetings for 'prayer, thanksgiving, reading of the Scriptures, exhorting, and edifying'—either by all men which had the gift, or by them who had the special charge before others.

(4) That they would allow any member of the Church to 'present, appeal, complain, exhort, dispute, reprove, etc., as he had occasion, but yet in due order.'

(5) That they would 'further the Kingdom of God in themselves, and especially in their charge and household, if they had any, or in their friends and companions, and whatsoever was worthy.'

(6) That they would observe the rules agreed upon 'for governing and settling voices in debating matters'; 'for an order of choosing teachers, guides, and rulers'; 'for separating those from unbelief'; 'for receiving any into the fellowship'; 'for promoting the daily success of the Church and the waste thereof'; 'for seeking to other Churches to have their help bring better reformed, or to bring them to reformation'; 'for taking so order that some continued openly, our persecutions, nor trouble (like Illich) disorderly, nor bring false doctrine nor evil name (like Illich)—after once or twice warning or rebuke.'

This took place at Norwich,† probably early in the spring of 1581, and marks the formation of the first Church of its kind in England.‡ The 'covenant' here described presents a rough outline of Brownism on its positive or constructive side; its negative or aggressive side may be illustrated by Browne's own report§ of a conversation which he had with his colleague Harrison some time before. From this it appears that Browne (showing himself more extreme in some points than Harrison) maintained that 'preachers who submit themselves to the popish power of the Bishops, or any way justify or tolerate it, cannot do duty as lawful pastors and preachers'; that 'Parishes guided either by such preachers or by the Bishops and their officers cannot be lawful and the Churches of God'; that such preachers cannot really 'beget faith by their preaching, neither can they really call or win men to goodness, nor can any profit be got from their blind reading of chapters and the (Church) service.' With these convictions before invectives against the preachers came naturally. Here, e.g., is a specimen: 'Therefore say no more ye wicked preachers that ye hold the foundation, or that ye preach. For what is it worth to say unto Christ, "Hail, King of the Jews," and bow the knee before Him, when you eat your filthy disorders and popish government as dung on His face. You have not yet gathered the people from the popish parishes and wicked fellowship, neither have planted the Church by laying the foundation thereof...' Declaration in this strain made a sensation. The common people of Bury St. Edmunds and thereabout heard him gladly, and 'assembled themselves to the number of a hundred at a time in private houses and conventicles to hear him.'¶ But it also led to his imprisonment by the Bishop 'upon complaint made by many godly preachers for delivering unto the people corrupt and contentious doctrine.'§ Released at the instance of his kinsman Burghley,** and straightway resuming what he considered his mission, he presently found himself 'a prisoner

at London.'** Harrison, too, was imprisoned† with others of the Church. So 'at last, when divers of them were again imprisoned, and the rest in great trouble and bondage out of prison, they all agreed and were fully persuaded that the Lord did call them out of England.'‡ The place selected (possibly because of Thomas Cartwright's congregation there) was Middelburg,§ and thither the greater portion§ of the Norwich 'company,' including Browne and Harrison, transferred themselves—near the end of 1581. In Middelburg Browne's ideal seems to have encountered little or no outward hindrance, but it broke down woefully under the stress of inward disabilities.¶ Two years later, Browne, sore at heart but keeping a bold front, was on his way to Scotland—accompanied by just four or five men and their families. The rest of his career need not be dwelt upon. Landing at Dundee, he reached Edinburgh by way of St. Andrews on Thursday, 9th January 1583-4, and was soon in trouble. On three successive Tuesdays he appeared before the Edinburgh Presbytery—maintaining (on the 14th) that 'witnesses at baptism were not a thing indifferent, but simply evil'; alleging (on the 21st) that 'the whole discipline of Scotland was amiss'; and acknowledging (on the 28th) the authorship of certain books exhibited. Out of these Mr James Lawson and Mr. John Davidson were deputed to gather the articles deemed erroneous for presentation to the King—Browne, meanwhile, being, it would seem, held in custody. But His Majesty, assuredly rather to spite the Presbytery than to befriender Browne, let him go free.‡‡

After some months he appears to have returned to Stamford; then to have gone abroad, leaving his wife behind; and then again to have come back to Stamford. This was about March 1585; and in the autumn of the same year, October 7th, he betrayed the crushing effect upon him of several months' imprisonment by a promise of 'conformity' to the Established Church.†† Next day he set out for Tothorpe, bearing a letter of intercession from Burghley to his father. Here he lived, under paternal surveillance, till February 1586-7, when his father, not having found him sufficiently docile, asked and obtained leave to remove him 'to Stamford or some other place.' Whether Browne actually removed is doubtful—since there is proof that later in the year (April 19th, May 8th, June 25th) both he and his wife were three times cited—on a charge of non attendance at church—in the Bishop of Peterborough's Court by the churchwardens of Little Casterton, the parish in which Tothorpe Hall is situated.‡‡ The next certain fact is his appointment on November 21st as schoolmaster in St. Olave's Grammar School, Southwark§—an uneasy situation, which he had vacated before June 20, 1589, when Burghley solicited Howland, Bishop of Peterborough, for his re-admission 'into the ministry' and 'some ecclesiastical performant,' on the ground that he 'hath now a good time' been an obedient son of the Church.‡‡ Two years later, 'on the

* True and Short Declaration.

† Harrison, *A Little Treatise upon the first verses of the 158th Psalm*... 1582, introduction (Lambeth Library).

‡ True and Short Declaration.

§ After Scotland and 'Jersey or Guernsey' had been proposed and waived aside by Browne (ib.).

¶ Some remained behind and still continued as a Church called the 'Elder Sister' (see George Johnson, *Discourses of some Friends*, 1808).

‡ True and Short Declaration, pt. II.

‡‡ Childers, *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, iv. 1-2.

†† See Burroughs, *op. cit.* pp. 25-27, 27-28. The 'two points' to which he adhered practically cover the whole ground of 'anabaptism', and imply a thoroughly broken spirit of the time.

‡‡ Burroughs, *op. cit.* p. 61.

§ An exact transcription of the (dramatic) terms of his engagement is printed by Burroughs, *op. cit.* pp. 64, 65.

‡‡ Lamborne MSS., vol. 50.

* See True and Short Declaration, pt. II.

† This implies that Browne (as pastor) and Harrison (probably as teacher), etc., were then chosen.

‡ Browne speaks of his 'coming to Norwich, and how the company there joined together.'

§ The Independent Church of Richard Pits (1571) hardly (perhaps) deserves the name, and the sect was not formed till 1581, in Wiltshire Lane, London.

¶ True and Short Declaration.

§ Pits's letter to Burghley (April 12, 1581), Lamborne MSS., xxxiii. 12.

** Letter to Pits (April 22, 1581). (See Fuller, *Church History*, vol. v. p. 65 (Browne's ed.).

30th June 1591, Robert Browne, clerk, was admitted and instituted to the rectory of the ecclesiastical parish of Little Casterton in the county of Rutland and diocese of Peterborough—of which parish his eldest brother, Francis Browne, then occupant of Tothorpe Hall, was the patron.* Finally, on September 2, 1591, he became 'rector' of the parish of Achurh-cum-Thorpe, Waterville, in Northamptonshire; 'was admitted to the holy orders of deacon and priest' on the 30th of the month;† and here (perhaps excepting one obscure period of ten years) he lived out the remaining forty-two years of his existence. He died in Northampton gaol, and was buried at St. Giles' Church of that town on October 8th, 1638.‡

2. Principles.—Though Browne had receded from some of his extreme views and taken office in the Church he had so bitterly condemned, there is proof§ that he still held to the essentials of his Church theory; and if this be taken as evidence of conscious insincerity, it may be remembered at least, by way of extenuation, that, to quote his own words, he was 'broken . . . much with former troubles,'‡ that the influences brought to bear upon him in his weakness were of exceptional force,¶ and that the limited extent of his 'conformity' seems to have been generally understood.**

Some indication of the principles connected by the term Brownism has already been given. But a more systematic statement is desirable.

(1) First, then, it should be said that Brownism concerned itself merely with a doctrine of the Church. Theologically, Browne was even severely orthodox†† in the current Calvinistic sense. Equally so were his successors.‡‡

(2) With Protestants generally, of the consistent sort, he accepted the Scriptures as the sole rule of Christian faith and practice—unaffected by the traditions of men, including those of the Early Fathers.

(3) Starting from this basis, he came to the conclusion that the Protestant Churches (particularly the English Church), while Scriptural as to their faith, were far from Scriptural as to their practice. Reformed up to a certain point, the English Church had stopped short of the full Reformation which was demanded if it would correspond to the NT model of a Church. Many even of the more 'forward' Puritans stopped short of this—pleading as a sufficient excuse that the needed reforms were not to be had without concurrence of the civil power, and that till such concurrence was forthcoming they could only 'tarry.' Here Browne took his stand. He thought the evils arising from an imperfect Reformation of the Church so great and pressing, that the very existence of Christianity called for the instant removal of them. Since, too, the will of Christ—made clear in the NT—necessitated their removal, to plead for delay on the ground of a 'Prince's' unwillingness was intolerable disloyalty to Christ. The Prince is supreme in his own sphere, but his sphere is not the Church. He is 'to rule the commonwealth in all outward justice, to maintain

the high welfare and honour thereof with outward power, bodily punishment, and civil forcing of men.' He is also to 'look to the Church so far as 'outward provision and outward justice' are concerned: for it is of his 'charge' because it is in a commonwealth.' But the Prince has no manner of right to compel the Church to be, or to remain, what Christ forbids. Nay, he has no right directly to 'compel religion' at all, i.e. 'to plant churches by power, and to force a submission to ecclesiastical government by laws and penalties.' If a true Church is already established, the Prince either is or is not a member of it. If he is, then—as God is no respecter of persons—he is, like every other member, subject to its discipline. If he is not, and has no mind to further or favour its establishment, then those who are Christ's freemen must proceed without him; and even though he should oppose them to the uttermost, they must go on just the same. Thus it appears that separation from a false Church, or from one persistently corrupt, in order to set up and realise the pure and true, is a right which the Prince dare not withhold, and a duty which the 'faithful' dare not decline.

Such is the pith of Browne's *Treatise of Reformation without tarrying for aie*, which he wrote and printed at Middelburg in 1592. Not without reason has it been called* the first plea in English for the Church's independence of the State and essential autocracy. But on the Continent he had been more than anticipated by the Anabaptists;† for, in one respect at least, his plea, as compared with theirs, presents a remarkable limitation, viz. that he seems to permit, if not to oblige, the Prince—after the example of 'the good kings of Judea'—not indeed to 'force the people by laws or by power to receive the (true) Church government,' but yet, when once they had received it, to keep them to it, and even to 'put them to death' if 'then they fall away.' How entirely subversive this might become of his whole position—supposing him serious—Browne did not pause to reflect.

(4) Published at the same date and place, and (in some copies) bound up with the *Treatise*, was a *Catechism* to which the *Treatise* was meant to serve as an introduction. Its title began, 'A booke which sheweth the life and manners of all true Christians . . .,' and if the *Treatise* urged the instant need of proceeding to establish the true Church, this sets forth the character of the Church to be established. In some points it obviously agrees with the Presbyterian ideal, as expounded, e.g., by his contemporary Cartwright. The conception of the sacrament is the same; its permanent officers are the same—Pastor, Teacher, Elders, Deacons, Widows—and also its description of their functions; and it makes the same demand for 'discipline.' But there are notable divergences. Thus the definition‡ of a Church is much more strict—'a compaignie or number of beleivers which by a willing covenant made with their God as under the government of God and Christ, and keepe his lawes in one holy communion.' Again, it was more democratic. From first to last the people of the Church, as just described, are accounted supreme. This appears (a) in the

* Burgess, op. cit. p. 632.

† *Id.*

‡ *Id.* p. 72.

§ In a MS of his recently found in the British Museum by Mr. Champlin Burrage, and edited by him for the Congregational Historical Society. It is in the form of a letter to his uncle Mr. Flower, is dated 21st December 1593, and contains the passages quoted by Dr. Bancroft in his famous 'St. Paul's Cross sermon' of the following February.

¶ See the *above* MS, where he speaks of having been imprisoned 25 times.

‡ e.g. the breakdown of his Church experiment at Middelburg, his bad state of health, his loneliness, the pressure brought to bear upon him at home and by Burghley, etc.

** Broadwell, e.g., assumes this in his *History of the Foundations of Brownism*, 1858.

†† Cf. Questions 2-86 of his *Books which sheweth the life and manners of all true Christians*, 1592.

‡‡ Cf., e.g., their *Confession of Faith*, 1593.

* See, e.g., Walker, *Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism* (New York, 1898), p. 12.

† *Id.* for the Anabaptist position; see § 85 of the (Hennepine) Confession quoted by Walker (p. 5). The latter's date is 1608, but it expresses their earliest views. See also pp. 15-17 for possible influence of Anabaptists on Browne. Baxter's opinion seems nearest the truth 'that Browne owed nothing to Anabaptist influences, and that he was a disciple of no one' (*Congregationalism as seen in its Literature*, p. 105).

‡ The first words are—'Christians are a compaignie . . .' Browne did not believe that Christians could be such and live apart from Church fellowship.

declared equality of all the members as regards spiritual privilege: 'Every one of the church is made a King, a Priest, and a Prophet under Christ, to uphold and further the kingdom of God, and to break and destroy the kingdom of Antichrist and Satan.' (b) In the mode of appointing and ordaining officers. These must first be tried by the whole Church as to their 'gifts and godliness.' If, indeed, a man has already given proof of his 'gifts and godliness' by the right gathering of a church, then those composing that church, or those who afterwards join it, must tacitly receive him 'by obedience' as their 'guide and teacher.' But if a church already planted is in need of any officer, then the free and clear 'consent of the people' gathered by the elders or guides must precede his appointment. (c) In the power of the Church as a whole to discipline and even depose unworthy officers. (d) In the right of the Church, through its own 'elders or forwardest,' to recognise its officers by ordination 'as called and authorized of God.' Usually this is done 'with prayer and imposition of hands'—but as to the latter it 'is no essential point of their calling,' and ought to be left, when it is 'turned into pomp or superstition.' (e) In the fact that, while the holding of 'synods or meetings of sundrie churches' may be expedient, it is voluntary. Their use is to enable the stronger churches to help the weaker in 'deciding or redressing of matters' when such help is sought or when it is evidently needed.*

(5) Brownism, as thus outlined, became the accepted platform of all the early Separatists. Younger leaders like Henry Barrow, John Greenwood, Francis Johnson, and Henry Ainsworth may have varied the emphasis, cleared away ambiguities, or given to this or that principle a more rigorous and detailed application; but, notwithstanding their vehement desire to repudiate all connexion with Browne or his name, it could not reasonably be denied that he was 'the shop of their store and the stool of their strength.'† Proof of this lies to hand in their writings, particularly in a series of authoritative documents which they issued for the chief Separatist Church during the first twenty years of its existence.‡ Only on one point of importance has there seemed room for doubt, and here the difference between Browne's teaching and that of Barrow seemed great enough to warrant a description of the latter as 'Barrowism.' This point is the eldership and its relation to the Church. According to Dexter, the teaching of Barrow presents the Church as having power to elect the elders, but not to control them or 'seriously limit their action' or remove them from office for any cause whatever. Thus he practically destroyed the Church's self-government, and erected the eldership into 'a ruling oligarchy,' whereas Browne made it a pure democracy.‡ But against this view may be set Barrow's explicit statement of the contrary. 'I never thought,' he says in one place, 'that the practice of Christ's government belonged only to those officers. I rather thought it had been their duty and office to have seen this government faithfully and orderly practised by all the members of the Church, . . . so that if these

officers or any of them transgress, the Church reserveth power to every member freely (according to the quality of the offence and the rules of the word) to admonish and reprove the whole, to censure and excommunicate such officers as offending.' No less conclusive is the evidence of a document published in 1606 under the title, *A true confession of the faith and humble acknowledgment of the allegiances which was her Majesty's subjects falsely called Brownists doe owe towards God and yield to her Majesty.* It emanated from the Separatist Church formed in London, 1593, and soon afterwards exiled to Amsterdam. This Church had Francis Johnson for pastor, and Henry Ainsworth for teacher—joint authors of the Confession, and both disciples of Barrow. Thus its words on the point in question may be taken as Barrow's own. But these say decidedly:

'That as every Christian Congregation hath power and commandment to elect and ordain their own ministers according to the rules prescribed, and whilst they shall faithfully execute their office to have them in superabundant love for their works sake—to provide for them, to honour them and reverence them, according to the dignity of the office they execute—so have they also power and commandment when any such default, either in their life, doctrine or administration breaketh out, as by the rule of the word doth appear, to deprive them of their ministerie, by due order to depose them from the ministerie they exercised, yea, if the case so require and they remayne obstinate and impatient orderly to call them off by excommunication.'†

Johnson, it is true, drew off from this position and split the Church by arguing a strictly Presbyterian view of the eldership.‡ But a majority of the people adhered to Ainsworth in his strenuous defence of the confessional view—which he calls the Church's 'ancient faith'—and he had also the warm support of John Robinson § with his church at Leyden. A more plausible case of difference between Browne and Barrow seems to lie in their respective ways of speaking about the relation of the Civil Power to the Church. For, while Barrow declares it to be 'the office and duty of Princes and Rulers . . . to suppress and root out of their dominions all religions, worship, and ministeries'¶ other than the true, Browne's language is certainly more restrained. But here also the contrast is less in reality than in appearance. One drastic assumption of his has already been noted. And the following from his reply to Mr Cartwright¶ is not so very far short of Barrow's position:

'If the commonwealth (as it ought) had long ago taken from the ministry those tithes and popish living, then Jericho being once destroyed (I mean the antichristian churches put down) had not so soon been built again. . . .'

Nor did he show himself (previous to his conformity) less extreme in a third point—his practical attitude towards the establishment. Barrow's attitude is perfectly explicit in the *Confession* of 1606 (Art. 38), which calls upon all who 'will be saved' to come forth with speed from this antichristian estate; upon all its ministers 'to give over and leave' their unlawful offices; and upon all people of what sort or condition 'to sever to withhold their goods, lands, money or money worth

* See the present writer's *Henry Barrow* (p. 108) for this and other references. The only argument alleged to the contrary seems to be one drawn from the 'allusion' of what is called the London Confession of 1593: 'A true description out of the Word of God of the visible Church.' But the absence of specific reference to the point may be explained by the ideal character of this document. It is a declaration rather than a Confession.

† *Id.* 22, 24.

‡ He defends it in his latest book, *A Christian Plea . . .* (1617), pp. 208-12. But he had been advocating it since 1606 (see present writer's *Henry Barrow*, pp. 204 f., 208 f.).

§ See his *Justification of Separation . . .* against Mr Richard Barrow's answer. (1610), where, on the 5th error alleged by Mr Barrow, he goes into the question with great thoroughness. Johnson replied in his *Answer touching the Division* (1611), p. 37 and *Rejoinder* rejoined—at Ainsworth's instance (see the latter's *Advertisement to Mr. Cartwright's Advertisement* (1613), pp. 111-117).

¶ Henry Barrow, *Platform*, 1609 (unpaginated).

¶ An answer to Mr. Cartwright his letter . . . p. 26.

* Catechism, questions 84, 110-112, 125-28, 110, 21.
† Cf. e.g., Barrow and Greenwood's outbreak during the 'conference' with London ministers (April 1600). The one says 'We are no Brownists. We hold not our faith in respect of any mortal man, neither were we instructed by him, or baptised into his name, until by such as you were so termed.' The other says 'Browne is an apostate, now one of your Church.' Yet it is probable that Greenwood at least had been influenced by Browne (see the writer's *Henry Barrow*, p. 15), and both must have read his writings.

‡ Bradwell, *Early the Foundations*, latest.

§ See end of article.

¶ See Walker, *Creeds and Platforms*, p. 21 f.

from the maintenance of its false ministry and worship. Brown's was the name. It is, e.g., the burden of his letter to Mr. Cartwright that you cannot communicate with a false Church without partaking in its pollution; and so neither the true Church as a whole nor any 'part' or 'member' of it ought to communicate.* Perhaps the utmost which can be conceded to him is that he may not have forbidden absolutely a casual 'hearing' even of prelate ministers or attendance at their services, as did the authors of the *Confession*.†

Brownism of the strictest type—that which pushed its differences from the Church of England to the forefront—found a temporary asylum in Amsterdambury and turned out unequal to the test of experience. In Leyden—under the leadership of John Robinson, who at first was as thorough-going as Barrow or Ainsworth, but became with time increasingly tolerant—it learnt to lay the greater stress on constructive elements;‡ and to develop these in a form of church life which could bear translation to the shores of New England, and there plant the germs of a vigorous democratic Church-State. In England it ran a somewhat similar course. Stripped of its harshest features, it was accepted from the hands of John Robinson by Henry Jacob (1563?–1604), who 'gathered' at least some of the scattered 'remnants' of the London congregation of 1592 and organized (on a semi-separatist basis)§ what has been called the first distinctively independent Church in England. But the name 'Brownism' did not die out. It lived on as a descriptive or abusive epithet of 'all and sundry' who, for whatever cause, broke away from the National Church. Nor did the extreme views originally suggested by the name cease to win vehement and consistent advocates.** These appear from time to time far down the 17th century.†† Indeed, such advocates have never been absent altogether from the ranks of English Nonconformity. But, on the whole, it may be said that Brownism has survived only on its nobler side; and that its essential witness has been continued and fulfilled in the principles which give life and power to modern Congregationalism.

See also art. CONGREGATIONALISM.

* P. 78. Cf. p. 82: 'For the reading whereby is administered wickedness, etc., and in *Præfatio* upon 22 Matt. § 'against Pious Presbyter'.

† And he would not have thought of going Brown's length in his argument for the total destruction of 'church buildings' which called forth Hooker's stately protest in *Sacra Polity*, bk. v. ch. 2, pp. 12–17.

‡ See *The Poems of Diderot*, under *heads*, published in 1698 (reprinted in *Walter, Poems and Prose*, pp. 77–80).

§ The stages are indicated by (a) *A Justification of Separation*, 1610; (b) *Religious Communions Public and Private*, 1614; (c) *A Just and Necessary Synode*, 1620; and (d) *A Preface of the Longness of Hearing Ministers in the Church of England*—printed in 1604 but written some years before.

|| Cf. the curiously Eusebian and studiously negative 'Brown Articles' prepared for submission to the Privy Council in 1628 and signed by Robinson and William Brewster (reprinted by *Arthur, Story of the Pilgrim Fathers*, pp. 230–31).

¶ See *A Confession and Protestation of the Faith of Certain Christians in England*, 1618, reprinted in *Widdows, Historical Memorials relating to Independents*, 1. 200 ff.

** See *A Nonconformist Appeal Humbly tendered to the High Court of Parliament*, by such as are commonly (but unjustly) called Brownists. Its date is May 1648, and its subscription runs: 'The most and unvarnished servants of God the true Churches of Christ resident in and about this city' [London] [Manchester New College Library, Treat No. 66a]. In the Lambeth Library (40.2.34) is a pamphlet of 1649 entitled 'Information for the ignorant. Containing a few observations upon 1 Cor. 10, which do strongly prove it to be absolutely sinful to hear the word preached in any false sect or assembly whatsoever. To which is added (to a P.R.) a Public challenge made by N.E. to all the Nonconformists or Separatists in Old and New England and Holland in the behalf of the total Separation'.

†† See *More Work for the Deem* (1681), by Thomas Wall, an answer to *William's History, Nature, and Place of the Present Separation from the Church of England*, strongly defensive of Barrow, Greenwood, and Peery, whose cause is said to be still that of 'many thousand Protestants' in England.

LITERATURE.—I. *BROWN'S WRITINGS*.—A list of them as far as known up to April 1893 is printed in *Champlin Burrage, The True Story of Robert Brown* (1893), p. 741. The most important are those numbered (1) *A Book which sheweth the life and manners of all true Christians*, Widdowsbury 1608; (2) *A Preface of Reformation without tearing for sin*, Widdowsbury 1608, reprinted by Congregational Historical Society, 1903; (3) *A Preface upon the 22 of Matt.*, Widdowsbury 1608 or early in 1609 (a satisfactory account of them, with full titles, is given by Burrage, pp. 17–25); (4) *A True and Short Declaration both of the gathering and joining together of certain persons and also of the memorable breach and division which fell amongst them*, Widdowsbury, 71, 1608 f.; (5) *A Answer to Mr. Cartwright's Letter for joining with the English Church*, 1604–05 (?) (MS printed and published at London, before Oct. 7, 1608); (6) *A Response of certain schismatical persons and their desires touching the hearing and preaching of the Word of God* (MS of 21 folio pages, 1608 f., discovered by Burrage at the Lambeth Library in 1906 and since published [London, 1907] as the *Retraction of Robert Brown, Pastor of Congregationalists*). The schismatical persons are taken to be Henry Barrow, John Greenwood, and their congregation. No doubt is expressed on this point—or any as to its authenticity. But the present writer is not convinced of the latter at least. (7) *A Letter written to Mr. Peery*, Dec. 21, 1608–09 (MS in the B.M., published at London [Memorial Hall], 1904, under the title *A New Year's Gift*); the printed copy contains a narrative of the founding of the MS by Burrage in 1901).

II. *BROWN'S LIFE*.—All previous biographies are superseded by *Champlin Burrage, The True Story of Robert Brown*, Oxford, 1903, together with two papers in *Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society*: 'Robert Brown's Ancestry and Descendants' (vol. II. No. 5) and 'New Facts Relating to Robert Brown' (vol. II. No. 6)—both by F. Ivan Carter. Carter's study of Brown, however, in his *Congregationalism of the last three hundred years*, as seen in its Literature (1879), pp. 61–128, is still valuable.

III. *EARLY BROWNIST LITERATURE*.—The works of Robert Harrison (d. 1605?), Henry Barrow (1560–1600), John Greenwood (d. 1600), John Peery (1560–1600), Henry Ainsworth (1571–1602), Francis Johnson (1560–1610), John Robinson (1570?–1603), Henry Jacob (1560–1604), for which see Carter, *Congregationalism of the last three hundred years* (Bibliography, pp. 6–30), and T. G. Crippen, *Early Nonconformist Bibliography in Transactions of Congregational Historical Society*, vol. I. Nos. 1, 2, 3.

IV. *BROWN'S LITERATURE*.—Histories of Congregationalism, particularly Dexter, op. cit., R. W. Dale, *History of Congregationalism*, 1907; E. Arthur, *Story of the Pilgrim Fathers*, 1897; J. Brown, *Pilgrim Fathers of New England*, 1890; F. J. Powicke, *Henry Barrow*, 1900; W. Walker, *Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism*, 1888; A. Mackintosh, *Story of the English Separatists*, 1888, and *Sketches in the Evolution of English Congregationalism*, 1901.

FRED. J. POWICKE.

BRUNO.—1. *Life*.—Giordano Bruno was born in 1548 in the ancient township of Nola, not far from Naples. At the latter town he studied, and in 1563 he entered the monastery of the Dominican order there as novice. It was at this time that he took the name of Giordano, his original name having been Filippo. In 1572 he became priest. Early in his monastic career charges of heresy had been brought against him, and these were renewed in 1576. Bruno escaped to Rome, and thence, hearing of his excommunication, made his way to North Italy. Earning a livelihood by various means and in various cities, he finally crossed the Alps, and in 1579 reached Geneva. There he attended the Protestant services held by an Italian pastor, and thus became formally a member of the Protestant community, although he does not seem to have entered into full communion or to have adopted the Calvinist confession of faith. A violent dispute with a Professor of Philosophy at the Geneva Academy led to his departure from the city in the autumn of the same year. He passed to Lyons and thence to Toulouse, where for two years he lectured on Aristotle and other subjects, being elected (by vote of the students) to a chair at the University. We next find him at Paris, in one of the Colleges of which he lectured (as extraordinary professor). Here he published two works on the Art of Memory (a subject concerning which he had been interviewed by the king, Henry III.), and a curious comedy, *Il Casidoro*. Apparently he fell into disfavour at the University, and in 1583 he crossed the Channel and came to London. There, after a three months' stay in Oxford, where his reception was the re-

vores of cordial, he took up his abode in the house of the French Ambassador, Mauvissière, probably as a secretary, and remained till 1585, when the Ambassador returned to Paris. During his stay in London, Bruno had some acquaintance with Sir Philip Sidney (to whom he dedicated a number of his writings), Fulke Greville, Florio, and others of the literary men and courtiers of the time. Seven of his most important works, six being written in Italian, were published in London at this period, although false names are usually given on the title-page for the place of publication. These works included the dialogues *La Cena de la Ceneri* (1584), *De la Causa* (1584), *De l'Infinite* (1584), *Spaccio de la Bestia Trionfante* (1584), and *De gli Eroici furori* (1585). At the same time he had already begun the Latin works which were completed in Germany, so that his stay in England represents a period of extraordinary productivity. With Mauvissière he returned to Paris in October 1585, but was compelled to leave it again in the following summer.

At this time he made an attempt at reconciliation with the Church, his hope being that he might be allowed to return without renewing his monastic obligations. The negotiations were broken off, however, and he made his way to Protestant Germany, settling for another brief period at Luther's city of Wittenberg. Here he associated with the then dominant Lutheran or Reformed Church party, was welcomed by the University, lectured on such subjects as the *Organon* of Aristotle and Lullianism—avoiding dangerous topics—and continued his philosophical writings. With the overthrow of the Lutheran by the Calvinist party in 1588 he was compelled once more 'to take to the road.' With varying fortunes he visited Prague, Helmstedt, Frankfurt, Zürich, and again Frankfurt, where he remained from March 1591 till a fatal chance led him to Italy in the autumn of the same year. During this period he published various works: the *180 Theses adu. Peripateticos* (Paris, and also Wittenberg), the *Oratio Valedictoria* at Wittenberg, the *Oratio Consolatoria*, or Funeral Address on Duke Julius, at Helmstedt, and two mathematical writings at Prague. The Latin poems (with prose commentaries), which contain the sum and final statement of his philosophy, the *De Minimo*, *De Monade*, and the *De Immenso*, were published at Frankfurt along with a monomelic work, the *De Ingenium Compositione*, in 1591. In response to an invitation of the patrician Mocenigo, who wished to learn his art of memory and his supposed magical powers, Bruno re-entered Italy in August 1591.

He was again anxious to be reconciled to the Roman Church, and to be allowed to live and write at peace as a layman, being curiously unconscious of the reputation his writings had built up for him. No doubt he trusted also to Mocenigo's influence for protection. In May 1592, Mocenigo, who had not obtained the secret knowledge he expected, denounced him to the Inquisition at Venice. In the process that followed Bruno at one point made solemn abjuration of all errors and heresies of which he had been guilty, and later made entire submission, throwing himself on the mercy of the court. Meantime, however, Rome had intervened, demanding that the heretic be sent to the Papal court. For political reasons Venice yielded, after considerable dispute and under strong pressure; and in February of 1593, Bruno entered the prison of the Inquisition at Rome. For some unknown reason no further steps were taken till January 1599—a most unusual delay. The process was then renewed and carried on to December of that year; but the unfortunate man, refusing to recant any of his

philosophical opinions, or to acknowledge the right of the Church to dictate in matters of philosophy, was condemned to death in the usual cynical formula, and, on 17th Feb. 1600, was publicly burnt alive in the Campo dei Fiori, where the statue by Ferrari now stands. Bruno suffered not for the Protestant religion or indeed for any form of religion, but for Science, and for the freedom of the scientific spirit from the Church.

2. Works.—Apart from the comedy of *Il Candelaio*, and one or two occasional works such as the Orations at Wittenberg and at Helmstedt, Bruno's works fall into three groups, viz. (1) commentaries and summaries; (2) works on the Art of Memory and the Art of Knowledge; (3) philosophical works.

(1) The first group includes expository and critical accounts of Aristotle's *Physics*, the posthumous collections *De Magna*, the *Medicina Lulliana*, and perhaps a number of the accounts of the Lullian Art of Knowing. (2) Such works as the *De Compensiata Architectura* (1592), the *Lampas Combinatoria* (1587), and the posthumous *Lampas Trigonae Statuarum* present in various forms a scheme, based on the writings of Raymond Lully (13th cent.), for the analysis of thought, and its reduction to a few elementary concepts, from which, with their combinations, all possible knowledge might be discovered, retained, and imparted. Leibniz also, and others after him, devoted some attention to this idea of a Universal Art of knowing or discovering truth by thought alone, or, more strictly, by the manipulation of words. Along with these works may be placed the *De Umbrae Idearum* (1602), *Causae Circueae*, *Sigillus Sigillorum* (1683), and other works on the Psychology and supposed Art of Memory, upon which Bruno laid great stress, but to which the familiar criticism applies, that what is good is old, and what is new is worthless. (3) The main philosophical works, Italian and Latin, have been enumerated above under their short titles; there remains to be added only the *Summa Terminorum Metaphysicorum* (1606, the first part having been previously published by itself in 1595). The *Causa* introduces us to the Copernican theory of the universe, and Bruno's extension of it; the *Causa* gives the metaphysical basis; the *Infinito* places the new cosmology in a fuller light, and criticises the prevailing theory and its Aristotelian origins; the *Spaccio* and *Cobala* (1584) deal with the ethics and religion of the common man; while the *Eroici furori* give those of the speculative philosopher, imbued with the true amor Dei intellectualis. Finally, in the Latin poems the system receives unity and finish; its relations with, and its advantages over, previous theories are expressed in clear and dignified, if not inspired, verse. There is no doubt also that in these later works Bruno comes nearer to a spiritual Monism such as that of Leibniz, while in the earlier writings he teaches rather a Pantheism of a Neo-Platonic type.

Bruno has been called the Philosopher of Astronomy (Riehl, p. 28). What is new in his teaching is his whole-hearted adoption of the theory of the universe foreshadowed by Copernicus, and already in Bruno's time being established by the astronomical discoveries and calculations of Tycho Brahe, Kepler, Galileo, and others. Early in his studies he became dissatisfied with the prevailing philosophy of the Church,—Aristotelianism,—and turned with fresh interest to the cosmic speculations of the pre-Aristotelian thinkers, and to the mystical imaginations of the Neo-Platonists. These, with the Scholastic, orthodox and unorthodox, the alchemists, the astrologers, and finally Cardinal Nicolaus of Cusa, last of the

Medieval and first of the Modern, were the chief influences that determined Bruno's thought, and gave his philosophy its strange confusion of old and new, of crass superstition and daring speculation, of dull pedantry and vivacious originality, of ignorant folly and supreme insight.

(a) *The physical universe.*—The universe is infinite, without bounds, everywhere the same in nature or kind, everywhere diverse in its individual forms or modes. Its centre is at once everywhere and nowhere; it is all centre or all circumference; or again its centre is relative to the spectator; thus to us the earth appears the pivot about which the universe revolves, but in precisely the same way, said Bruno, the inhabitant of the moon would regard the moon, and the inhabitant of the sun the sun, as the centre of his world. Each sun, each star, each planet is a world like our earth, with living beings in its air, on its soil, in its fire and its waters; but the worlds are of two kinds, each complementary to each, each necessary to the other's existence; the two kinds are the same, including the fixed stars, and the earths or planets, including the comets. The latter revolve about the former, as the earth about the sun, but the same themselves are also in motion. Nowhere is there any permanence or fixity in Nature; all these worlds are alive, are living beings, and the condition of life is change. Permeating the whole universe is the ether, which Bruno thought of as a formless fluid, a passive, yielding, yet unchangeable, medium through which light, heat, and bodies pass without loss of force. Underlying all movement, small or great, is spirit or soul; all things have soul; the ether itself Bruno sometimes identifies with the Soul of the Universe. Again, since Nature is everywhere the same, everything is implicitly or potentially the whole universe; and what it is implicitly it strives to become explicitly or in actuality. Thus every element passes, in the course of its history, through every portion of the universe, and every composite being becomes, by gradual change, every other nature or thing. These suns and earths, like all other beings, have had a beginning in time and will decay and perish in time. Nature never repeats herself; that is, there are never at a given moment of time two forms or things exactly alike, and nothing is ever for two successive moments the same: nowhere is there a perfectly straight line or a perfect circle or arc of a circle. There are three kinds of monads, i.e. of simple substances or elements, according to Bruno: (1) God, the Supreme Unity, Monad of Monads; (2) the soul, the substance or spirit of the composite body; and (3) the atom, the simple element of body or matter. All are immortal, each soul passing, as has been said, through every type of body the universe contains. In this metempsychosis there is, however, a possibility of progress; the soul has it in its power to rise gradually to higher and higher types of being, until it approaches unity with God and is absorbed into the eternal life of the Divine being.

(b) *God and Nature.*—Relatively to us God has two modes of existence and two ways of access. As a transcendent Being, outside of and prior to the universe, its Creator and Source, He is accessible only to faith through revelation; He cannot be approached by reason or by thought. As an immanent Being, the soul, spirit, or inner nature of the universe, which is His image or expression, He is knowable by sense, understanding, and reason in gradual approximation. As the soul of the universe He is in all and every part; all things are one, and the one is God. Indeed, in the earlier phase of Bruno's Pantheism the individual or finite being has no real existence at all;

it is not a part or a division or even a special mode or expression of the Divine or world-soul; it is simply the world-soul itself in a particular aspect. Again, in the infinite (*sub specie aeternitatis*, in Spinoza's phrase), there is neither less nor greater; a man is no higher, no nearer God than an ant, a star than a man; all values are relative to the finite standpoint. In the Infinite, as Niccolò of Cusa taught, all opposites, including good and evil, coincide; liberty and necessity, the possible and the actual, power and will, and thought or idea, all these in God are one. Hence the universe that exists is the only possible universe, and because it exists it is also a perfect universe. But again Bruno's maturer thought compelled him to recognise gradations in value, in spite of himself. In law, natural and moral, in the beauty and order of Nature, God is more fully, more adequately, expressed than in any single being or individual thing (*Op. Lat. I. 2, p. 318*).

(c) *Ethics and religion.*—The end and aim of a Church is the same as that of a State; it is social and practical—the security of the community, the prosperity and well-doing of its members. Dissension and strife are dangerous to the State, hence the need of an authoritative doctrine, and the enforcement of its acceptance and of outward conformity with it; but the Church has no right to go further, to interfere with the pursuit of knowledge, of truth, which is the object of philosophy or science. Thus the Bible teaches not sciences but morality, an ideal of conduct. No discovery therefore may be condemned because it conflicts with a supposed statement of fact in the Bible. God does not need the worship of man, He cares nothing for what they say or think of Himself, but only for what they do to each other, i.e. for their happiness. Thus all worship, all religion has a purely practical and human end. The ordinary man must be governed by authority, by fear of punishment, whether in this life or in the next; ignorance and bodily pleasures are his paradise. He must live by faith. But the wise or heroic soul is able to attain, through reason, and through the love with which it is inspired, to the knowledge of and to eternal union with the Divine. Thus Bruno comes in the end to the same conception as that with which Spinoza concluded his Ethics—the *amor Dei intellectualis*. His philosophy of religion is a rationalism, but limited always by a belief in the Transcendence of God, by which the sphere of faith is separated from that of reason, and indeed remains, as Bruno sometimes saw, above it.

3. *Influence.*—Although his writings were placed upon the Index in 1603 and became very scarce, and although in his lifetime he aroused antagonism wherever he went, Bruno nevertheless had many followers in England, in France, and in Germany. No doubt his Lullian works formed the first attraction, but through them his philosophical ideas received an entrance into current thought. The influence was general rather than special; the courage, independence, and enthusiasm with which he defended the new and lofty conception of the universe and of Nature in its relation to God made themselves felt and were imitated. Traces of his teaching may be found in Bacon, in Descartes, and above all in Spinoza and Leibniz, with both of whom he has many doctrines in common. Except, however, for the somewhat mistaken admiration of the English Deists, he was generally neglected until the German Idealists re-discovered him in the first half of the 19th century. Ample amends has now been made by his countrymen in the study of his writings, their careful editing, and complete publication; and a multitude of monographs upon his life and phil-

osophy have appeared during the last thirty years in various languages.

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J. L. MCINTYRE.

BRYANITES.—See **METHODISM.**

BUDDHA, LIFE OF THE.—Gautama, the Buddha (Pali *Gotama*), the founder of the Buddhist faith, which at one time numbered in all probability more adherents than any other form of religious belief, was born in or about the year 560 B.C., in the Lambini Grove, near the ancient town of Kapilavastu, the ruins of which lie hidden beyond the British border in the dense forest region of south Nepal, a few miles north of the Basti District of the United Provinces. The place of his birth, unknown and unidentified before, was determined by the discovery, in the year 1895, of a pillar erected there by the Buddhist Emperor Asoka (q.v.) during a pilgrimage which he undertook for the purpose of visiting and worshipping at the chief sites made sacred by the presence and acts of the Buddha while he lived upon earth. The route which he followed led him from his capital city of Pataliputra (Patna (q.v.)) to the Lambini Grove and Kapilavastu, Bodhi Gaya, Sarnath, near Benares, Sravasti, Kusinagara, and other sacred sites, the exact position of some of which is still uncertain; and at each place he appears to have set up a pillar or built a stupa commemorative of his visit and of the incident in the Buddha's life of which it had been the scene. The inscription on the Lambini Grove pillar is perfect, and the letters as clear and legible as on the day they were inscribed; of a few words, however, the meaning is uncertain:

'The king Devanampiya, Piyadasi, when he was twenty years of age, did (the place) the honour of coming (here) in person. Because Buddha was born here, the Sakya king, he caused a stone surrounding and screening wall to be made, and a stone pillar to be set up. Because the Blessed One was born here, he made the village Lambini free of rent and entitled to the (king's) eighth share (of the grain).'

The name *Gautama*, by which the future Buddha was known, is perhaps derived from that of Gotama, the ancient ṛṣi, or seer, to whom are ascribed some of the hymns of the Rigveda. He becomes *buddha*, or *the Buddha*, the 'enlightened' or 'wise,' only after his attainment of perfect wisdom under the Bo-tree. Other titles given to him are *Sakyamuni*, 'the sage of the Sakyas'; *Siddhārtha*, 'he who has accomplished his aim'; and *Tathāgata*, 'he who has arrived at the truth.' His father was named *Buddhodana*, the chieftain or prince of a Sakya clan, who ruled from Kapilavastu over a small kingdom in the N.E. part of the

United Provinces and the neighbouring District of southern Nepal; and his mother, *Māyā* or *Mahāmāyā*, is said to have conceived him after a dream in which she beheld the future Buddha descending from the heaven, and entering her womb in the form of a white elephant. Hence the elephant is sacred to all Buddhists. *Māyā* herself, according to the tradition, died within seven days after the birth of her son, and was carried to the *Tavatimsika* heaven of Indra, whither the Buddha himself ascended later, to give her instruction in the Law.*

In the *Jātaka* (q.v.) the story of the life and experiences of the Buddha in his earlier existences is narrated, and how the characteristics and perfections of a Buddha were exhibited by him in patience, self-sacrifice, and the other virtues. As the time drew nigh for him to enter the world in this the final birth, the gods themselves prepared the way before him with celestial portents and signs. 'Earthquakes and miracles of healing took place; flowers bloomed and gentle rains fell, although out of season; heavenly music was heard, delicious scents filled the air, and the very water of the ocean lost its saltiness and became sweet and refreshing.' Before his birth also the prophecy was uttered concerning him, that he would become either a Universal Monarch (*cakravartin*), or, abandoning house and home, would assume the robe of a monk, and become a Buddha, perfectly enlightened, for the salvation of mankind; and he himself, in the *Tavatimsika* heaven, before consenting to undertake the office, makes the 'five great observations,' in order to determine the right family in which to be born, the right continent,† the appropriate district,‡ the proper time, and the predestined mother of the Buddha. He is accordingly conceived in the womb of Queen *Mahāmāyā*, and she is delivered of a son in the Lambini Grove, under the shade of a *Sal*-tree, a branch of which bends down to her, that she may grasp it with her hand. The body of the child bore at birth the thirty-two auspicious marks (*maṇḍavyaṅga*) which indicated his future greatness, besides secondary marks (*anuvyaṅga*) in large numbers. The chief of the divinities, including Indra, were in attendance, and the boy was received by four Brahma angels. Immediately also he uttered the 'shout of victory,'§ taking seven steps forward, and finding in none of the ten directions a being equal to himself. At the same moment his future wife was born, and also the sacred Bo-tree, under which he was destined to attain Buddhahood.

In many of the legends the young Gautama performs marvellous feats of strength. His father also, mindful of the prophecy that he would retire from the world, surrounded him with all manner of luxury and indulgence, in order to retain his affections, and prevent him from undertaking a vow of solitariness and poverty. In particular, he endeavoured to keep from him the 'four signs,' the sight of which, it had been announced, would move him to enter upon the ascetic life.

'Then said the king, "What shall my son see to make him retire from the world?"
"The four signs."
"What four?"

* Bonhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 801; Warren, op. cit., p. 63 E. The story of the virginity of *Māyā*, the mother of the Buddha, is late, and even its inspiration, it can hardly be doubted, to Christian sources. According to L. de la Vallée Poussin, the doctrine is asserted in the *Mahāvastu* (q.v.) but not elsewhere (cf. above, p. 741) and note 1.

† In three of the continents the Buddhas are never born; only in the continent of India are they born.

‡ *Madagadala*, the Middle Country.

§ In two of his previous existences the Buddha is said to have spoken at birth—the *Mahāvastu* and *Peṇḍitavastu* existences (see *Jātaka*, I. 52, quoted in Warren, p. 67). The ten directions are the south and north, with the four cardinal and the four intermediate points.

* The translation is that of J. F. Fleet in *J.R.A.S.*, 1908, p. 486; cf. p. 688, and G. 1908, p. 760 E.; V. A. Smith, in *J.A.* xxiv. (1904), p. 4, gives a rendering that differs only in details. For a facsimile and transcription see G. Bühler, *Epigraph. Ind. v.*; V. A. Smith, *Asoka* (1907), p. 164, etc. Earlier articles and discussions will be found in *J.R.A.S.*, 1897, et al., and in the references in V. A. Smith, op. cit. Not far from the Lambini (Rummindei) pillar there was found, near the village of Nigihra, a second pillar of Asoka, with an important inscription recording his visit to the site of Kapilavastu (Bar. *Kanadimasa*), one of the four Buddhas of the present age (*Kakumadha*, *Kopāgama*, *Ramapa*, and *Gautama* himself). Warren, *Buddhism in Translation*, p. 82 et al.; V. A. Smith, op. cit. p. 146. Other pillar-inscriptions are known; see art. *Asoka*.

"A concept old man, a diseased man, a dead man, and a monk."

"From this time forth," said the king, "let no such person be allowed to come near my son. It will never do for my son to become a Buddha. What I would wish to see in my son is something sovereign rule and authority over the four great continents and the two thousand attendant kings, and walking through the heavens surrounded by a retinue thirty-six leagues in circumference." And when he had so spoken he placed guards for a distance of a quarter of a league in each of the four directions, in order that none of these four kinds of men might come within sight of his son.⁶

On successive occasions, however, issuing from the palace, he is confronted by the four signs the sight of which fills him with amazement and distress; and, realizing the impermanence of all earthly things, he determines to forsake his home and take refuge in the forest for solitary meditation, and 'to obtain the highest immortality.' His resolution is strengthened by the appearance of the attendant woman of the palace, whom he finds asleep in all manner of uncouth attitudes;⁷ and he pays a final visit to his wife and child in the inner chamber, checking himself in his desire to waken and bid them farewell, lest their entreaties and caresses should avail to turn him from his fixed purpose. He is said to have been twenty-nine years old when he thus made the 'Great Renunciation.' On his horse Kapthaka he left the city by night, and miraculous signs accompanied his departure, in the same manner as when he had been born. The gods themselves silenced the neighing of his steed, lest the city and its warders should be aroused; and bore up the horse's hoofs, preventing them from touching the ground; while the city gates, heavy with bolts and bars, opened noiselessly to him of their own accord.⁸ And Māra, the prince of evil, sought to win him back by the promise of universal dominion, which he should immediately obtain.

On the further side of a broad stream Gautama dismissed his horse and attendant, the latter seeking permission, which was refused, to remain with him;⁹ and the two returned to the city, to announce that their master had finally and for ever renounced the world. The prince himself proceeded alone and on foot to Rājagṛha (Rājgir), whose king greeted him as the future Buddha, and obtained from him a promise that, after gaining enlightenment, he would re-visit his kingdom and give him instruction in the right knowledge. Thence he made his way to Uruvelā (Skṛ. *Uruvelā*, the great or wide-spreading Bel tree, the wood-apple), a village or grove near Gayā, and there in the company of five ascetics entered upon a course of extreme self-discipline, carrying his austerities to such a length that his body became utterly emaciated and lost all its brightness and grace; finally, he fell down senseless and was believed to be dead. For six years the 'Great Struggle' continued, at the close of which, becoming convinced that the truth was not to be won by the way of asceticism, he resumed an ordinary course of life as a beggar living on alms. These six years are said to be 'like time spent in endeavouring to tie the air into knots.' His companions, however, the five ascetics, now deserted him, because they regarded his action as a proof of faithlessness to his principles, and departed to the Deer-Park at Benares.

There followed the assaults of Māra, who with his hosts endeavoured by every means, first by

⁶ *Jātaka*, I. 36, in Warren, p. 22. The story of the four signs occurs in all the narratives of the Buddha's early years (cf. e.g. *Buddha-Charita*, bk. III.). It would seem to be one of the best-attested of the early traditions, as it is most characteristic.

⁷ Cf. the description of Hasakman's visit by night to the palace of Rājagṛha in Orlon, finding his wives asleep (*Buddhagosa*, v. 10), and the similar story of the noble Yasa (*Buddhagosa*, I. 7).

⁸ *Buddha-Charita*, v. 20 ff., etc.

⁹ According to one form of the tradition, the horse died of grief on this spot, and was re-born as a god in the *Trupastrikā* heaven.

violence and then by varied allurement, to distract his attention and turn him from his purpose. Seated under the Bo-tree on a couch or platform of grass, on its eastern side and facing the east, Gautama remained steadfast and immovable, taking no notice of the showers of rocks and darts which, as soon as they reached him, turned into flowers. Here he resolved to remain — 'Never from this seat will I stir, until I have attained the supreme and absolute wisdom.' The period of the temptation closed with sunset, when the army of Māra was finally driven off in utter defeat. During the following night, in deepest meditation, the desired knowledge and the perfect state were attained, and Gautama became Buddha, 'the enlightened one,' to whom all the secrets of the universe were laid open — omniscient.

A legend relates that in the first night which he gained a knowledge of all his previous existences, in the second, of all present causes of being, in the third, of the chain of causes and effects, and at the dawn of day he knew all things.¹⁰

During the seven weeks spent under the Bo-tree, he is said to have been miraculously sustained on an offering of milk-rice, brought to him by a woman of Uruvelā, named Sujātā, and neither to have moved from his place nor to have taken any further nourishment. Until this time he had been merely a *Bodhisattva* (p. 2), one who is destined to gain supreme wisdom, on the way to Buddhahood but not yet perfectly enlightened.

For a discussion of the doctrine or truth which the Buddha thus believed himself to have grasped, and which he made it his business henceforth to preach, see art. *STRAYAS*. 'All existence involves suffering, suffering is caused by desire, especially the desire for continuance of existence, the suppression of desire therefore will lead to the extinction of suffering; this deliverance can only be effected by the Noble Eight-fold Path.' These are the *Arhatsamāsa*, or Noble Truths, the four truths of which are *dukkha*, 'pain'; *saṃudaya*, 'cause'; *nirodha*, 'suppression'; *mārga*, 'way' or 'path'. The same four truths or axioms are propounded in the *Śālisthāna* philosophy (*Buddhagosa*, I. vi. 19, 20 ff. till 26 f., etc., see also R. Orlon, *Buddhagosa* and *Yoga*, Strassburg, 1893, p. 12, and art. *Śālisthāna*).

With regard to the events immediately succeeding the Buddha's attainment of omniscience, the traditions are more than usually divergent. That which is perhaps the best attested, and most generally finds expression in Buddhist art, represents him as spending in succession seven days under the Bo-tree, in deep meditation, 'enjoying the bliss of emancipation'; the same period under the 'Goat-horn's Banyan' (*ajapāli*), where a Brahman is said to have approached him with the request that he would define the characteristics of a true Brahman; the Buddha replied that he only could justly claim the name who was 'free from pride, free from impurity, self-restrained, wise, and who has fulfilled the requirements of holiness.' A third week was spent under the *Muchālinda*-tree, from beneath which Muchālinda, the serpent-king, came forth, and spread his hood as a canopy over the Buddha to protect him from the wind and heat, the storm-cloud and the rain; and, finally, a fourth period of equal duration was spent under the *Rājāsana*-tree, whence he returned to the Banyan. Thus were completed four periods of seven days. During the last week, two merchants, moved by a divine suggestion, approached the Buddha, and with respectful salutations offered him food, rice-cakes, and honey. The gift was accepted, and received in a bowl (or four bowls of stone), presented to him at the moment by the four divinities that guard the four quarters of the globe.¹¹ The merchants declared their faith in the Buddha and his Law;¹² and begged to be received as disciples. Their request was granted, and they thus became the earliest lay-disciples in Buddhism.

After his return the Buddha is represented as

¹⁰ Monier-Williams, *Buddhism*, p. 24; cf. Warren, p. 22.

¹¹ *Buddhagosa*, I. 3-4, cf. Warren, p. 22 ff.

¹² Employing the 'two-refuge' formula, became the *asthaka*, the order of monks, was not yet instituted.

debating in his mind whether he should undertake the wearisome and thankless task of communicating to men the profound truths which he had thus perceived. Brahmā appeared to him, and with reverential obsequiousness recalled him to high office and duty, reminding him of the misery and ignorance of mankind, who, if they do not hear the doctrine preached, cannot attain to salvation. The Buddha assented; but a further doubt arose to whom he should first proclaim his doctrine with the assurance that they would understand. He decided that the five ascetics with whom he had previously lived in the practice of austerities should be the first to receive the new teaching. He therefore sought them out in the Deer-Park, *Jāṇatana*, at Benares, and to them delivered his first sermon, or brief exposition of doctrine, 'setting in motion the wheel of the Law,'* and founding 'the highest kingdom of truth.' The *śiṣyas* accepted the truth, and at their own request were duly ordained, becoming the first members of the Buddhist Order (*sangha*) of monks.

The number of the disciples rapidly increased; and Gaṇama sent forth his monks on missionary tours hither and thither, bidding them wander everywhere, preaching the doctrine (*dharma*), and teaching men to order their lives with self-restraint, simplicity, and chastity. Of them, his earliest converts, two of the most renowned were Śāriputta and Moggallāna (*Māyāgāyana*), members of a ascetic community resident at that time at Rājagṛha, who received the truth from the lips of the monk Amaji, one of the five original disciples; he taught them the substance of Buddhist doctrine, explaining that he himself, being only a novice, was unable to expound it at length.

* Of laws or principles that originate from a cause, the cause of them the Buddha hath declared, and also the destruction of them. Thus the great Teacher (Monk) hath spoken.†

The recitation of these words by the venerable monk Amaji is said to have aroused in the mind of the hearers a clear understanding of the fact that 'whatever is subject to origination is subject also to cessation or destruction.'‡ They were thereupon admitted into the Order by the Buddha himself. Both are recorded to have died before their Master. Other disciples, whose names and actions fill a large place in the early chronicles, were Upālī, who recited the text of the *Vaṃsa* at the first Council after the Buddha's death; Kāśyapa (*Kassapa*) or M-ha-Kāśyapa, the president of the Council, for whose coming the cremation of the body of the Buddha was delayed; and Ānanda (q.v.), his cousin and favourite attendant, who seems to have watched over him during life with closest care, and to have been nearest to him at death. Others of high birth became lay-disciples. And there were also female followers, who, later, were permitted to form themselves into an Order of Buddhist nuns (see art. *MONASTICISM* (*Buddhist*)).

Thereafter the Buddha spent a life prolonged, according to the tradition, over forty-five years, in itinerating from place to place, and preaching the doctrine to all who would listen. The details of his journeyings, as recorded in the chronicles, are

* *Dhammacakkapavattana* (Pāli *Dhammacakkapavattana*), see *JSS* xiii. 94 ff., and the references there given. Kera, *Indian Buddhism*, p. 32. The wheel is a continually recurring symbol in Buddhist art; the original intention probably was to represent as well the perfection of the doctrine, the circle denoting all-round completeness, as its unending, unceasing progression. The sermon itself, as given in the text, is a manifesto of Buddhist doctrine, insinuating the avoidance of the two extremes of a life of sensual pleasure or of ascetic self-mortification, and urging the pursuit of the 'Middle Path' which leads to insight, supreme wisdom, and nirvana.

† *Yo dhammaṃ āraṇṇaṃ āvāsaṃ bhūtaṃ Paṭisaṃvāsaṃ* by *śāriputta* *yo nirvāṇaṃ evaṃ-vādī Mahādharmasūtra*—the Buddhist creed or confession of faith. (Cf. *JSS* xiii. 144 ff.; Kera, p. 35; Warren, pp. 37-38.)

‡ *Abhidh.* i. 22; cf. Warren, p. 37 ff.

not of much interest; they seem to have been confined mainly to the kingdom of Magadha,* and especially the country around Rājagṛha and Śrāvastī;† but are traditionally said to have extended also far into the north-west of India and the Panjāb. During the whole of this period he appears to have had no settled dwelling place, although gifts of land and buildings were made to him by wealthy disciples; the most extensive and important of these apparently were the Jetavana park and monastery at Śrāvastī—the gift of Sudatta or Anāthapindika, who bought it from Jeta, the king's son, at the cost of covering the ground with gold pieces. Jeta retained a portion, and built thereon a *vihāra* for the monks; whence the whole estate was known as *Jetavana*, the grove or park of Jeta. In the rainy season (*Vassa* (q.v.)) it was his wont to abstain from travelling, ostensibly lest the animal and insect life which then abounded should be inadvertently injured or destroyed; but partly also, no doubt, because of the physical difficulty which the heavy rains placed in the way of much movement.‡ The doctrines which he taught seem generally to have been received with approval, often with enthusiasm, although opposition was at times aroused. His chief rival was Devadatta, a cousin of the Buddha, who is represented as being jealous of his influence and popularity, and as repeatedly seeking to compass his death. Devadatta had been received into the Order at the time of a visit which Gaṇama paid to Kapilavastu in the sixth year of his ministry, but had never been a sincere believer. The final attempt which he made to poison the Buddha was frustrated, and he himself, for making a false profession of faith, fell down into hell, where he was condemned to remain for an entire world-cycle.

At the age of over eighty years, according to the tradition, at the close of a long life devoted to teaching and preaching, Gaṇama Buddha realized that the time drew near for him to die, to leave his disciples and his work, and to attain *parinirvāṇa*,§ final or perfect nirvāṇa.

The authoritative account of the death of the Buddha, as related by the Southern School of Buddhism, is contained in the *Mahā Parinibbāna Sutta* of the *Dīgha-Nikāya*, the 'Book of the Great Discourses,' translated by T. W. Rhys Davids in *JSS*, vol. vi. Warren, pp. 62-110. See art. *LITERATURE* (*Buddhist*). The narrative from Tibetan sources is given by W. Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, pp. 126-147. The date of his death has been discussed at great length, and by many scholars. The Sinhalese reckoning, representing the tradition of the South, places the event in the year 544 or 543 B.C., but it seems certain that this is too early. More than 800 years ago, Sir A. Cunningham (*Buddhist Temples*, London, 1854), from a full consideration of all the available data, gave his decision for the year 477 B.C. Prof. Max Müller arrived at the same conclusion (*JSS* x. 1. 211 ff.). *History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 307 ff. 309, which was endorsed by Dr. Buhler. Others, as Westergaard and Kern, bring the date of his death down to a considerably later period, c. 470 B.C. The most recent essay in favour of a yet earlier date is by the Indian scholar P. C. Mukherji, who argues for the early part of the 6th century (see review in *JAS*, 1900, p. 608 ff.). There can be little doubt that Sir A. Cunningham's date is very near to the truth. Dr. Fleet re-examines the whole question with great care in *JAS*, 1902, pp. 1-34, endeavouring to determine the precise day of the year on which the Buddha died, which he concludes to have been Oct. 12th, 483 B.C. Cf. also H. de Ellen Wijkman's *Epitaph Epitaphs*, i. 169 n. 1, 184 ff.

Accompanied by Ānanda, the Buddha then came

* Deul, *Sigūki*, ii. 22 ff.; cf. art. *MAGADHA*.

† Legge, *Pāli-Hon*, p. 66 ff.; Deul, op. cit. ii. 1 ff. The site of Śrāvastī was identified by Cunningham with Sahet Mahet, in the Gonda District of the United Provinces, and this identification has been confirmed by recent discoveries (see *JAS*, 1902, pp. 971 ff., 1898 f., 1900, p. 1061 ff.; *IGI*, s.v.). There is a description of Śrāvastī from Sinhalese sources in W. Geiger, *Letter to S. Perera* d. Singhalese, Strassburg, 1901, p. 14 f.

‡ *Vassa* was also observed by the Jains, and in this respect apparently both sects followed the earlier practice of the Hindu monastic orders.

§ *Pāli parinibbāna*, see art. *Nirvāṇa*; nirvāṇa is a state attainable and attained during life, and was enjoyed by the Buddha himself and by many Buddhist saints; *parinirvāṇa* is reached only at death, with the dissolution of the bodily frame.

embars of the fire. Thus there were altogether ten portions, and over each a cairn (*stūpa*) was erected and homage paid. These buildings remained for many years centres of pilgrimage, and were visited not only by Buddhists of India, but by pilgrims from distant lands.* In one form of the narrative the Emperor Aśoka is said to have undertaken a re-distribution of the relics among 84,000 *stūpas*, which he built. One of the original *stūpas*, however, that at Rāmagrāma (6), he was unable to violate, being prevented by the spirits (*śūpas*) that watched over the cairn.

At Piprāvā (Piprahavā, Piprahwā), in the United Provinces, excavations were made some years ago in an ancient mound and relic chamber; and among the objects discovered was a large stone box, containing steeatite vases (one of which bore a short inscription), pieces of bone, gold leaf, jewels, beads, etc. The inscription when read was understood to describe the relics enclosed in the vase as those of the Buddha himself; and it was inferred that these fragments of bone were the actual portions of the body of Gautama, preserved after cremation, over which was erected the stupa which had now been re-discovered. Dr. Fleet, however, interprets the inscription differently; and understands it to refer, not to the founder himself, but to the Śākya, his kinsman, many of whom, according to the tradition, were massacred, and their city wholly or partially destroyed, in revenge for a slight put upon the neighbouring king of Kosala.† In either case the inscription would seem to carry with it the identification of Piprāvā with Kapilavastu, the capital of the Śākya.

The discovery is also reported of the ancient stupas built near Peshāwar, according to the reports of the Chinese pilgrims, by Kanishka, which they describe as the finest in India. Buddha himself, when travelling in the country, is said to have prophesied to Ananda that on that spot, four hundred years after his death, a king named Kanishka would raise a great stupa in his honour, 'which will contain many various relics of my bones and flesh.' Many marvels are related concerning the fulfilment of the prophecy, and both Fa-Hien and Hsiao-Tsang record the presence in former times of the almsbowl (patra) of Buddha in that country. Two large mounds lying east of the city have been identified as the site of the great building erected by Kanishka, and excavations have been carried on for the last two years, under the direction of the Archaeological Survey of India. Under one of the mounds were found 'remains of an enormous monument, which proves to be the lost pagoda, so minutely described by the Chinese travellers.' In a relic-chamber was discovered a casket containing small fragments of bone, which may therefore be portions of the remains of Gautama himself. The magnificence of the monument indicates the importance attached to the sacred relics which it was intended to enshrine. And the tradition recorded by Hsiao-Tsang proves that in his day they were believed to be actual relics of the Founder of Buddhism.

Among the prophecies uttered by the Buddha was one concerning the future of the religion which he established, and its ultimate decline and disappearance from the earth. The declaration is contained in the *Angula-Vaṣaṇa* ('Narrative of Coming Events'), and was given at Kapilavastu in response to a question by Śāriputta. The history of the future Buddha, Maitreya (Pali *Mettayya*), is described; then at long intervals after his own death will occur the 'five disappearances': of the attainments, when his disciples will rise to ever higher degrees of sanctity; of the method, when the knowledge of the precepts and the way of salvation shall be lost; of learning, when the sacred texts themselves shall be forgotten; of the symbols, the monastic robe, bowl, etc.; and at the close of five thousand years 'the relics will begin to fail of honour and worship, and will go wherever they can receive honour and worship. But as time goes on they will not receive honour and worship in any place. . . . the relics will come from every place . . . and having congregated together at the throne under the great Bo tree . . . will teach the Doctrine. Not a single human being will be found at that place; but all the gods from ten thousand worlds will come together and listen to the Doctrine, and many thousands of them will attain to the Doctrine. . . . Then they will weep, saying, "From henceforth we shall be in darkness." Then the relics will put forth flames of fire and burn up . . . without remainder.'

[The subject of Barlaam and Joasaph, which was referred to this article by a cross-reference at BARLAAM, it has been found more convenient to treat in a separate article under the title JOASAPHAT.]

LAMARCA—*The Buddha-Charita of Abhangana*, ed. by
 E. B. Cowell, Oxford, 1890, 2 vols. 22S. vol. xlix. Oxford, 1890;
Prakrit-lingg-kaumudī: a Life of Buddha by Abhangana, tr.
 from Sanskrit into Chinese by Dharmapala, A. A. 410, and from
 Chinese into English by Samuel Ball, 32S. vol. xli. Oxford,
 1890. *Buddhist Canon, Mahāyāna-Sūtra*, tr. from
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 Rhys Davids and H. Oldenberg, 32S. vols. xiii. xvii. x. x.
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 P. Bignard, *Life or Legend of Guendama, the Buddha of the
 Burman*, London, 1890. W. W. Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha
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 don, 1890. E. Windisch, *Nava und Buddha*, Leipzig, 1896;
 H. C. Warren, *Buddhism in Primitivism*, Cambridge, Mass.,
 1896, ch. I. H. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, Strass-
 burg, 1906, pp. 15-49. E. Hardy, *Buddha*, Leipzig, 1900;
 H. Oldenberg, *Buddha, sein Leben, seine Lehre, und seine
 Gemeinde*, Berlin, 1903 (*Eng. tr.*—*Buddha: his Life, his Doctrines,
 his Order*, London, 1905). H. Sarason, *Way of the Buddha*,
 London, 1906. T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, New York, 1907;
Treasury of Pāli Hymns, tr. by J. Lager, Oxford, 1890. *Sigāla
 Buddhist Sacraments of the Western World*, tr. by E. B. S. 2 vols.,
 London, 1896.

BUDDHACHOSA.—This was the name of several members of the Buddhist Order. It will be sufficient here to deal with the best known among them, the celebrated author and scholar who flourished early in the 6th century A.D.

1. Life.—The authorities regarding the life of Buddhaghosa the Great are as follows. In the first place, certain important portions of his work have already been published. The few details they contain as to the life of the author are the only contemporary records of it that have survived. Secondly, Dhammakitti, in the middle of the 13th cent. A.D., wrote a continuation of the *Great Chronicle* (tr. in Turner's *Mahāvamsa*, p. 280 ff.) of Ceylon. In it he inserted an account, in thirty-three chapters, of the life and work of Buddhaghosa. It is not exactly known from what sources this account was drawn; but it probably gives

* *Periodico della Scuola*, vi. 51-52.

† *JRAS*, 1903, p. 180. Dr Fleet reads the text, and translates as follows: "Buddha, Bhadrakṣaṇa an bhagavān an pūṇa-dānām (from noble-saints) Buddha bhagavān bhagavān. Of the brothers of the Well known One, together with (their) little sisters (and) together with (their) children and wives, this (is) a deposit of riches; (namely) of the kinsmen of Buddha, the Blessed One." Earlier interpretations understood the reference to be to a collection of the Buddha himself, set up by his bhikṣu brothers. See Fleet's article, loc. cit., in which he discusses the inscription, and for a description of the original discovery, cf. 1900, p. 574, etc. Muthers' *Antiquaries on the Nepalese Pura*, 1907, cf. Fleet in *JRAS*, 1905, p. 679 ff., and on the identification of Kapilvāṭa, W. Wood, cf. 1900, p. 686 ff.

‡ Legge, *Sh-Hien*, ch. xli; Seal, *Sikṣit*, i. 97 ff.

§ Seal, loc. cit. p. 98.

¶ Fleet, 17th Aug. 1903; see *JRAS*, 1903, p. 1000 ff.

* Warren, pp. 493-504.

the tradition as preserved at the Great Minster in Anurādhapura (q.v.) in written documents now no longer extant. Thirdly, we have a life of Buddhaghosa, written in Pāli, in the middle of the 16th cent., by a Burmese *Mahāyāna* named Mahā Maṅgala. It is of a legendary and edifying character, and of little independent value. The title is, *Buddhaghosā-uppatti* ('Advent of Buddhaghosa'); and the text has been edited and translated by James Gray. The results to be obtained from these sources will best be stated chronologically.

In the introductory verses to his commentary on the *Dīgha* (ed. Rhys Davids and Carpenter), Buddhaghosa says that he compiled it in accordance with the opinions of the Elders at the Great Minster; and that since he had already, in his *Vuddhi Magga* ('Path of Purify'), dealt with certain points, he would omit these in his commentary. Lastly, he says that the authorities on which he relied were in the Sinhalese language, and that he reproduces the contents of them in Pāli. In his commentary on the *Vinaya* (quoted *JRAS*, 1871, p. 295) he gives the names of some of these Sinhalese works. They are the Great Commentary, the Raft Commentary (i.e. written on a raft), and the Kurundi Commentary (i.e. the one written at Kurundi Vojā). In his commentary on the *Parvāṇa*, Buddhaghosa states (*loc. cit.* Gray, p. 12) that he studied these three under Buddhāmīta. In his *Attha-sālini* (ed. Müller), Buddhaghosa also quotes as his authorities these and other commentaries written in Sinhalese; refers frequently to his own *Vuddhi Magga*, and twice at least to his commentary on the *Vinaya*; and mentions otherwise (apart from the canonical works) only the *Mūlinda* and the *Pesakopadesa*.*

These meagre but important details show conclusively that Buddhaghosa worked at a date subsequent to that of the two books last mentioned, under the auspices of the scholars at the Great Minster in Ceylon, and on the basis of materials written in Sinhalese.

The authority next in point of date explains how this was supposed to have occurred. It tells us that, during the reign in Ceylon of Mahā-Nāma (who ascended the throne A.D. 413), there was a young Brāhman born in India who wandered over the continent maintaining theses against all the world. In consequence of a discussion that took place between him and Revata, a Buddhist *śāstrī*, he became interested in Buddhist doctrine, and entered the Order that he might learn more about it. It was not long before he became converted, and wrote a treatise entitled *Jāṇapadeya* ('Uprising of Knowledge'); and also an essay entitled *Attha-sālini* ('Full of Meaning'), on the *Abhidhamma* manual included in the Canon under the title *Dhamma-saṅgaha*. On Revata observing that he contemplated a larger work, he urged him to go to Anurādhapura, where there were better materials and greater opportunities for study, and make himself acquainted there with the commentaries that had been preserved in Sinhalese at the Great Minster, with a view to re-casting them in Pāli. Buddhaghosa agreed to this, went to the Great Minster, studied there under Saṅghapāli, and when he had mastered all the subjects taught, asked permission to translate the commentaries. The authorities of the School gave him two verses as the subject of a thesis, to test his ability. What he submitted as this thesis was the work afterwards to become so famous under the title of *Vuddhi Magga*. This proved, with the assistance of good fairies, so satisfactory that his request was granted. Then, according to the chronicler, 'he translated the whole of the Sinhalese commentaries into Pāli.'

* See the references given in Mrs. Rhys Davids' *Buddhist Psychology*, pp. 22-227.

We need not take every word of this edifying story *au pied de la lettre*. We know, for instance, that it was not the whole, but only a part, though a very important part, of the Sinhalese commentaries that he reproduced in Pāli. Other scholars, some of whose names we know, while some are not yet known, reproduced other parts of it. The work was by no means a translation in the modern sense. It was a new work based on the older ones. And the intervention of the fairies (*devadā*) is only evidence of the curious literary taste of the time of the poet. But, in the main, the story bears the impress of probability.

The *Buddhaghosā-uppatti* takes over this story, telling it with many flowers of speech and at greater length. It adds a few details not found in Dhammakitti's complete, giving, for instance, the names of Buddhaghosa's father and mother as Kasi and Kesini, and the name of the village they dwelt in as Ghoṣa. Both the authorities locate it at Gayā in Magadha, near the Bo-tree. The *Gandhāvanā* (*JPTS*, 1896, p. 66) adds that Kasi was the family chaplain (*parohita*) of King Saṅghama. The *Saddhamma Saṅgaha* (*JPTS*, 1890, p. 55) gives the additional detail that Buddhaghosa worked at his translations in the Padhanaghara, an apartment to the right of the Great Minster. The Sinhalese chronicler concludes his account with the simple statement that Buddhaghosa, when his task was accomplished, returned home to India, to worship at the Wisdom tree. The Burmese authorities (quoted by Gray in his introduction) all agree that he went to Burma. This is merely a confusion between our Buddhaghosa and another *Mahāyāna* of the same name (called more accurately Buddhaghosa the Less), who went from Ceylon to Burma towards the end of the 15th cent. (Forchhammer, II 65).

2. Works.—The extant books written by Buddhaghosa would fill many volumes. Of these only one, and that one of the shortest, has so far been edited in Europe. The most important is probably the *Vuddhi Magga*, a compendium of all Buddhism, in three books: on Conduct, Concentration (or mental training), and Wisdom respectively. Henry C. Warren has published an abstract of this work (*JPTS*, 1891); and a complete edition, with translation, introductions, and notes, is in preparation for the Harvard Oriental Series. The rest are all commentaries. There are on the four great *Nikāyas*, on the *Abhidhamma*, and on the *Vinaya*, would each fill three or four volumes. A late authority, the *Saddhamma Saṅgaha* (*JPTS*, 1890, p. 56), gives 137,000 lines as the extent of these six works. Another late authority, the *Gandhāvanā* (*JPTS*, 1896, p. 60), in giving a complete list of Buddhaghosa's works, mentions in addition commentaries on the *Pāṇi-mokkha*, *Dhammapada*, *Jāṭaka*, *Khuddaka Pāṭha*, and *Apadāna*, adding on p. 68 the *Sutta Nipāta*. This list probably errs both by excess and by defect. It does not include the *Attha-sālini*, which we now know, from the edition published by the Pāli Text Society, to have been written by him, and it does include the commentaries on the *Dhammapada* and the *Jāṭaka*. Now we have before us the text of the introductory verses to each of these works. In each case the author describes the circumstances under which, and names the scholars at whose instigation, he undertook and carried out the work. In neither case is any reference made to Buddhaghosa. In both style and matter each of these books differs from the other, and from such portions of the works of Buddhaghosa as are accessible to us. In the similar cases of Nāgārjuna and Śākyara, works not written by them have been ascribed to famous writers. The tradition of Buddhaghosa's authorship of either of

the books above named has not as yet been traced back earlier than the 10th cent.; and, for the above reasons, it is at present very doubtful. A large number of short quotations from Buddhaghosa's commentaries have been printed by the editors of the various texts with which he deals; and sixty consecutive pages from the historical introduction to his commentary on the *Vinaya* have been edited by H. Oldenberg (*Vinaya*, vol. iii.). Rhys Davids and Carpenter have published one volume, out of three, of the *Sumaṅgala Vāṇī*, his commentary on the *Digha*. And one complete work by him, the *Attha-sālinī* above referred to, has been edited by E. Müller. This turns out to be, not the essay under that title said by Dhammakitti to have been composed in India, but another work written in Ceylon subsequently to the *Vireddhi Magga* and the six great commentaries. It is doubtless an enlarged edition of the essay, and the latter has therefore not been preserved. Manuscripts of the undoubted works of Buddhaghosa, containing the texts, sufficient to fill some twenty-five volumes more, are extant in European libraries; and the Pāli Text Society, having completed its edition of the canonical works, is now engaged on the publication of these.

3. General conclusions.—Buddhaghosa's greatest value to the modern historian is due largely to the limitations of his mental powers. Of his talent there can be no doubt; it was equalled only by his extraordinary industry. But of originality, of independent thought, there is at present no evidence. He had mastered so thoroughly and accepted so completely the Buddhist view of life, that there was no need for him to occupy time with any discussions on ultimate questions. In his 'Path of Purity' he gives, with admirable judgment as to the general arrangement of his matter, and in lucid style, a summary of the Buddhism of his time. There is no argument or discussion. In his six great commentaries—those on each of the four *Nikāyas*, containing the Doctrine; on the *Vinaya*, containing the Canon Law; and on the *Abhi-dhamma*, containing the advanced Psychology—he adheres to one simple plan. He first gives a general introduction—dealing mainly with literary history—to the work itself. To each of the more important Dialogues, or *Suttas*, he gives a special introduction on the circumstances under which it was supposed, when he wrote, to have been originally spoken, and on the places and the persons

mentioned in it. He quotes in the comment on the *Suttas* every word or phrase he considers doubtful or deserving of notice from a philological, exegetical, philosophical, or religious point of view. His philology is far in advance of the philology of the same date in Europe, and his notes on rare words are constantly of real value, and not seldom conclusive. He gives and discusses various readings he found in the texts before him; and these notes, together with his numerous quotations, go far to settle the text as it lay before him, and are of great service for the textual criticism of the originals. Of the higher criticism Buddhaghosa is entirely guiltless. To him there had been no development in doctrine, and all the texts were the words of the Master. He is fond of a story, and often relieves the earnestness of his commentary with anecdote, parable, or legend. In this way, without in the least intending it, he has preserved so little material for the history of social customs, commercial values, folk-lore, and belief in supra-normal powers. His influence on the development of the literary faculty among Buddhists throughout the world has been very considerable. It is true, no doubt, that the method adopted in his commentaries follows very closely the method of those much older ones preserved in the Canon; but the literary skill with which he uses it is a great advance, more especially in lucidity, over the older documents.

LITERATURE.—*Attha-sālinī*, ed. E. Müller (PTS, 1897); *Sumaṅgala Vāṇī*, ed. Rhys Davids and Carpenter (PTS, 1898); *Mahāvastu*, ed. G. Turnour (Colombo, 1897); *Buddhaghosa-saṃyutta* (ed. J. Gray, London, 1897); *Digha*, ed. Rhys Davids and Carpenter (PTS, 1899, 1900); E. Forchhammer, *Jardine Price Essay* (Bangkok, 1898); Mrs. Rhys Davids, 'Buddhist Psychology' (SAS, 1899). T. W. RHYD DAVIDS.

BUDDHISM.—The character of Buddhism varies according to the country in which it prevails, so that a general sketch would be of very little value. The origin of Buddhism has been given in the article BUDDHA; its early developments will be described in two articles, one on the HINAYANA, or Little Vehicle, the other on the MAHAYANA, or Great Vehicle. Then the Buddhism of each country will be separately treated under the name of the country. See BHUTAN, BURMA, CENTRAL ASIA, CEYLON, CHINA, INDIA, JAPAN, JAVA, KOREA, SIAM, TIBET. See also SIKHS (Buddhist).

BULGARIANS.—See BOGOMILA.

BULL.

Egyptian.—See ANIMALS, EGYPTIAN RELIGION.
Greek and Roman.—See ANIMALS, TAURINOLIVUM.

BULL (Semitic).—The wild bull (Assyr. *ānu*, Heb. *qān*) was found in Mesopotamia, whence it wandered into Babylonia and the level parts of Palestine, while the domesticated short-horned ox seems to have been indigenous in Western Asia before the rise of Bab. civilization. Further south, in Arabia and the Sinaitic Peninsula, the country was unsuitable for cattle, and sheep took the place of oxen. This fact is important in view of the general opinion of anthropologists that the original home of the Semitic race was Arabia.

In Babylonia, figures of bulls guarded the approach to a temple, house, or garden. They were believed to protect the building from the entrance of evil spirits, and were often represented with wings, to which, in the Assyrian period, a human face was added. Colossal figures of them in stone or metal, called *lamassi* (from the Sumerian *lamma*), were placed on either side of the entrance. At

Hindu.—See ANIMALS, VEDIC RELIGION.
Semitic (A. H. SAYCE), p. 387.
Teutonic (C. J. GANEKE), p. 390.

times they were represented on the gates or walls as goring the enemy. The Semitic Babylonians included them among the *ādi* (Heb. *ādi*), or 'spirits,' partly beneficent, partly evil, with which the air was filled. Among the Sumerians, however, they had the specific name of *ālad*. Ashurbanipal, in describing his destruction of Susa, states that he 'broke in pieces the *ādi* (written *ālad*), the colossal bulls (*lamassi*) which guarded the temple,' and 'removed the raging wild bulls that adorned the gates'; and in the legend of Chedorlaomer (?) we read that, when Bel determined to bring evil upon his temple at Babylon, 'its *ādi*, or guardian-bull, departed from it, and so allowed the Elamite to enter and destroy the sanctuary. The guardian-bulls were also known as *kirubi*, and corresponded with the cherubim which stood at the entrance to the Garden of Eden, protecting 'the way of the tree of life' (Gen. 3^d). In a list of Bab. deities, the

names of 'the two divine bulls' of Ea of Eridu are given (*WAI* ii. 56, 58-60).

A bilingual hymn in Sumerian and Semitic (*ib. iv. 23*), addressed to 'the bull' who is 'the offspring of Ze,' the storm god, describes it as 'the great bull, the supreme bull which treads the holy pasturage . . . planting the corn and making the field luxuriant.' 'Between his ears,' it is added, 'is the mouth of the deep,' or 'sea,' a great basin of water which stood in the court of a Bab. temple. As there is also a reference in the same hymn to 'the twelve gods of copper,' we are reminded of the 'sea' of Solomon's temple which 'stood upon twelve oxen' (1 K. 7th).

Among the Babylonians the bull symbolized strength, and hence was a synonym for 'hero'; it was probably on this account that the spirit which protected the gate was supposed to have a bull-like form. For the same reason Jahweh of Israel was compared to a wild bull (*Nu* 23rd 24th etc.), and it is possible that the *adder* of the OT should be rendered 'bull' rather than 'mighty one.'

According to the Epic of Gilgamesh, Ann, the god of heaven, created a bull to avenge the insults offered by Gilgamesh to his daughter Ishtar, and to punish the hero by devastating his country and destroying his countrymen. The bull is called an *ald* (a word of Sumerian origin), and its horns are described as being of lapis lazuli, and of enormous size. The bull, however, was killed by Gilgamesh and his companion, in consequence of which, it would seem, Gilgamesh was afflicted with disease, while his companion suffered a premature death. The bull was really the constellation Taurus or the star Gud-anna, 'the bull of heaven'—a name which goes back to the age when the vernal equinox coincided with the entrance of the sun into Taurus. Janson believes that it was a storm-god before being thus transplanted to the sky, and that a connexion was assumed between *ald*, 'the bull' and *ald* (Sumer. *ald*), 'a storm-demon' (*Assyr.-hebr. Mythen und Epen*, 1900, p. 482). The suggestion is supported by the fact that the bull is called the son of the storm-god (see above), and that it was a symbol of Hadad-Rimmon, the god of the air and the thunderbolt. Hadad is often depicted standing on the back of a bull. Hadad, however, was known in Babylonia as *Amurru*, 'the Amorite god,' and it is therefore possible that his association with the bull was derived from Northern Syria. A recollection of the bull as a malevolent storm-deity may survive in the Mithraic representation of the sun-god slaying a bull.

In Northern Syria, where Hadad, the Cilician *Sandes*, was specially worshipped, the bull was his sacred animal. When the worship of the god under the name of *Juppiter Dolichenus* ('Juppiter of Doliché') was transplanted to Rome, monuments were erected to him on which he is figured standing on a bull, with a double-headed battle-axe in one hand and a thunderbolt in the other. At Hierapolis (*Momby*), the successor of Caranemish, he was thrown upon bulls as his consort was upon lions (*Lucian, de Deo Syria*, 31), and bulls were among the sacred animals kept in the court of the temple. On the stele of Esarhaddon found at Zinjori he also stands upon a bull, and the same is the case in the rock-sculpture of Maltaiya (*Place*, Pl. 45) to the N.W. of Mosul. The earliest known representation of the god in a similar position is upon Babylonian seal-cylinders of the age of Hammurabi.

Further south the association of the bull with the supreme Beal can also be traced. Europa was carried from Phoenicia by Zeus, i.e. Beal, under the form of a bull; and the Cretan Minotaur was termed 'Asterius,' pointing to a belief in a connexion between the bull and the Phœnician

Ashtoreth. Bulls of iron existed in the sanctuary of Zeus Atabyrius in Rhodes which may have owed their origin to Phœnician influence; and Silius Italicus (*Punica*, iii. 104 L.) refers to the 'cornigera frons' of Milichus or Malkarth. The name (*Ashtoreth*—) *Korvais* seems to imply the existence of a cow-headed Ashtoreth; and a cow is found on an early Bab. seal-cylinder as a symbol of Ishtar. A cow goddess naturally presupposes a bull-god. On a Nabatean monument a bull represents a god whom Sachau identifies with Kagu or Kasios (*PSBA*, 1890, p. 1056).

According to Ex 22, a golden 'calf,' or more correctly a bull, was made by Aaron during the absence of Moses on Mount Sinai, and was worshipped by the Israelites as a visible representation of the God who had brought them out of Egypt. At a later date, Jacobson set up images of bulls in the sanctuaries of the Northern Kingdom, where they were adored as likenesses or symbols of Jahweh. This Israelitic worship of bulls has been thought to have been derived from Egypt. But against this it is urged that the Egyptians worshipped the living animal, and not the image of it. The objection, however, is not convincing, since votive images of the Egyptian bulls Apis and Mnevis are numerous, and the Semitic equivalent of Egyptian beast-worship would have been image-worship. But the bull-worship of the Northern Kingdom was unknown in Judah, and it is therefore probable that it was derived from Northern Syria, Jahweh being identified with Hadad.

The bull-worship even of the Semites in Northern Syria was probably of foreign origin. The divine bulls of Babylonia were originally Sumerian, and the names applied to them by the Semitic Babylonians were borrowed from the Sumerian language. On the other hand, Hittite influence was strong in Northern Syria, and 'the bull-god' was one of the chief Hittite deities in whose honour images of bulls were dedicated. At Eryk, near Boghas Keni, a bull, mounted on a pedestal, is represented as being worshipped; and among the Phrygians the stealing of an ox was punished with death (*Nie. Damascus*, 148, ed. Orelli). Asia Minor, in fact, was a land of cattle-breeding and agriculture, where the ox which drew the plough was held in special veneration. When an anthropomorphic conception of the deity was introduced from Babylonia, the human god accompanied by the animal took the place of the animal alone as an object of worship. The cuneiform tablets from the Assyro-Babylonian colonies near Kaniyrah show that this must be dated at latest in the Hammurabi age.

It would thus appear probable that Northern Syria was the meeting place of a twofold Sumerian conception of the bull: as a beneficent guardian of the homestead, and a malevolent storm-demon—derived in the one instance from the character of the domesticated animal, and in the other from that of the wild bull—and the Hittite worship of the bull-god as the protector of the cultivated land. Sumerian beliefs in regard to the bull were adopted by the Semitic Babylonians, and the association of the bull with the Syrian Hadad would have been the result of foreign influence. Bull-worship, in short, would seem to have been unknown to the early Semites, as indeed must necessarily have been the case if their primitive home was Arabia. It is significant that the Heb. word for 'wild bull' is borrowed from Babylonian, and is not found, at all events in that sense, in Arabic. The custom of hanging up *decumania*, or ox-heads, above the doors of houses, moreover, was not Semitic. It was derived from the belief in the protecting power of the divine bull, and, like the Bab. *lamassu*, of

which they were a survival, the *bacrania* prevented the entrance of evil spirits into a house, as a horse-shoe is still supposed to do in certain parts of England. The custom was naturally prevalent throughout Asia Minor, and the bull's head frequently makes its appearance on Cyprian seal-cylinders of the early Copper Age. The custom was also known to the Nabian settlers in Egypt in the time of the XIIth and following dynasties, from whom the usage, described by Herodotus (ii. 39), of making an ox-head a scapegoat, may have been derived (see also Dt 21⁴). In Arabia and Palestine the apotropaic use of the *bacrania* was practically unknown.

Lernaeon.—In addition to the authorities cited above, see *Handbuch der alt. Religionsgesch.*, Leipzig, 1874, i.; *Bayen, Robert Lezardes*, London, 1891, pp. 328-9.

A. H. SAYCE.

BULL (Tentonic).—Pintarich in his life of Marius (cap. 23) states that the Cimbri took with them on their expedition into Italy a brazen bull, on which they were accustomed to swear solemn oaths. Apart from this, there is little evidence for the sacred character of cattle among the Tentonic races, beyond the fact that they were used for sacrifice. A primitive cult of the cow would appear to be reflected in the Edda account of the creation of the world, where the cow *Audhumla* exists before either gods or men, and plays an important part in their origin. There is, moreover, in the saga of Olaf Trygvason, a curious legend, which relates that a certain *Ogwald* worshipped a cow, which he took everywhere with him, and which at his death was buried beside him in a second cairn. The only addition to these vague indications is the statement of Tacitus (*Germania*, 40), that the sacred car of the goddess *Hertha* was drawn by yoked cows; and it may be noted that in the Middle Ages oxen drew the chariots of the Merovingian kings.

C. J. GASKELL.

BULL-ROARER.—'Bull-roarer' is the English name (Germ. *Schwiirholz*) of a common toy in the country districts of Great Britain and the Continent. It is merely a thin slit of wood, with a hole for the insertion of a string, and is usually either oval or oblong in shape and pointed at the extremities; sometimes the edges are serrated. Tied to a string, and the string firmly held, the bull-roarer is swung round, and produces a kind of muffled roar. The mystic or magical connexions of the bull-roarer in Europe will be noticed later; we must first consider its very important part in the religion of the most backward races. It has been most carefully studied among the aborigines of Australia, and its uses are analyzed by Père P. W. Schmidt in his paper 'Die Stellung der Aranda' (Aranta), in *ZE*, 1908, Heft 6.

Beginning with the Aranta, in the exact centre of Australia, we find a people who, in one region described by Spencer and Gillen, have no conception of a sky-dwelling superior being, or 'All-Father'; while in the area studied by Strehlow the sky is understood to be tenanted by a magnified man, *Altjira*, called *mara* ('good'), but as indifferent to mankind as they are to him. In this tribe, as in most others where initiations of the boys exist, the bull-roarer is swung by the men at the secret ceremonies; the noise warns the women to keep at a distance, and they are told that the roar is the voice of a being named *Twanyirika*. The long absence of the boys while their wounds are healing is explained by the circumstance that *Twanyirika* 'enters the body of the boy after the operation and takes him away into the bush until he is better.' The operation over, the boy is shown the bull-roarer (always carefully concealed from women),

and his elder brother comes to him with a bundle of *Churinga*, saying, 'Here is *Twanyirika*, of whom you have heard so much, they are *Churinga* (sacred things) and will help to heal you quickly.' The boy is told that women of his tribal kin will be slain if he lets them see the bull-roarer.*

So far, *Twanyirika* seems to be a mere bogie, in whom the initiated do not believe. Among the tribe next to the north of the Aranta, the *Umatjara*, the boy is told, before being circumcised, that *Twanyirika* will carry him away if he reveals any of the secrets of initiation.† After the process of sub-incision he is told to swing the bull-roarer, while in the bush, or else another *araburta* (youth circumcised, but not yet sub-incised), 'who lives up in the sky, will come down and carry him away. If this *araburta* hears the *churinga*—that is, the noise of the bull-roarer—he says, "That is all right," and will not harm him.'‡

This idea of a sky-dwelling being, concerned with the initiations, is not found among Spencer's branch of the Aranta; the being of the *Umatjara* is not an All-Father; nor are the *Umatjara* known to have any belief in an All-Father. This notion of a sky-dweller, however, forms a link with the belief of the *Loritja* or *Laritja* tribe, whose lands march with those of the Aranta on the east. They believe in a celestial and powerful being, *Takura*, who has no concern with ethics or any interest in men, but does perform ceremonies like those of the tribe, involving the use of the bull-roarer, and the initiation of celestial young men. *Takura* is known to the women, as is *Altjira*, the sky-dweller of Strehlow's Aranta, or Aranda; but *Altjira* does nothing but hunt, eat, and amuse himself. Among the *Loritja*, beings named *Maiutu* play the part of *Twanyirika*; one cuts off the heads of the boys, sticks them on again, and is slain; another receives food from the boys. He has a sharp-pointed leg-bone, like *Daramulun* among the *Wiradjuri* of the south-east, and *Daramulun* is, with them, the being of the bull-roarer, but subordinate to the sky-dweller, or All-Father, the ethical *Balamu*.§

North of the Aranta are the *Kaitish* tribe, who are but half-converts to Aranta ideas. They believe in an All-Father, *Atnatu*, who 'arose up in the sky in the very far back past . . . made himself, and gave himself his name.' Before the *Aloheringa* (g.v.) he drove some disobedient sons out of heaven to earth, whence he dropped down 'everything which the black-fellow has,' including bull-roarers. These sons are the ancestors of half the tribe. Two *churinga* (bull-roarers), dropped by *Atnatu*, became men, who, making wooden bull-roarers, imitated the sound of *Atnatu*'s bull-roarer in the heavens, that is, obviously, thunder. They were named *Tumana*; they died an ill death; but now the women (who know not *Atnatu*) believe that *Tumana* plays the part of *Twanyirika* among the Aranta. *Atnatu* himself is an All-Father, insisting on ceremonies and bull-roarers, but unconnected with morals.||

The *Warramunga* have no *Atnatu*, as far as is known; their bull-roaring being is *Murtu*. *Marta*, like the *Tumana*, was killed by a dog, which could not destroy the bull-roarer, *murtu-murtu*. The spirit of *murtu-murtu* instantly sprang up in certain trees, of whose wood bull-roarers are made.¶

The N. by E. *Binhinga* and *Anula* have, or teach to the women, similar beliefs; the bull-roarer is *umutjara* or *mura-mura*; the beings connected with it are *Katajalina* and *Gnabala*. The women are told that these beings swallow the boys, and disgorged them, re-born, as initiated men. This

* Spencer-Gillen, 497.

† *ib.* 505.

‡ *ib.* 542.

§ Strehlow, *Die Aranda und Loritja Stämme*, pt. I. (1907)

p. 11, pt. II. (1908) pp. 1, 2, 68, 69.

¶ Spencer-Gillen, 498-9.

* Spencer-Gillen, 494, note 1.

form of the exoteric myth is very common, occurring even among the tribes of the south-east.*

The S.E. tribes had not the spiritual philosophy of the central and northern communities. In that philosophy primal souls are perpetually re-incarnated, or in some regions spirits, *vataps*, emanating from the primal totemic beings, are incarnated, and, after one earthly life, retire to the lair of the dead, and are finally annihilated.† There is thus no place of rewards and punishments for souls, while the evolutionary theory (see *ALCHERINGA*) makes a creative being superfluous, though, as *Atnata*, he survives among the Kaitish.

The S.E. tribes in parts of Queensland, and in Victoria and New South Wales, had not the spiritual and evolutionary philosophy of the northern tribes, or among them it was not dominant, and they believed in a great sky-dwelling anthropomorphic being, the maker of most things, ethical, and the source of customary laws, who gives his sanction to morals, and is invoked at the initiatory rites, where a temporary image of him is made. Like *Atnata*, he is unknown to the women and children. The thunder is his voice, and the bull-roarer, imitating the thunder, is sacred. Like the central and northern tribes, those of the south-east inculcate the belief in a being closely connected with the bull-roarer, but this being is taken more seriously than in the north and centre. He is the son, or 'boy,' practically the deputy, of the superior being, the All-Father. Among the Kurnai he is *Tandan* (which is also the name of the bull-roarer); among the *Enahlayi* and *Kamilaroi* he is *Gayandi*, under *Baiane*; among the *Wiradjuri* he is *Daramulun*, under *Baiane*; but among the *Yuin*, *Daramulun* is himself the All-Father.

The functions of the bull-roarer being, with the exoteric myth that he swallows the boys and disgorges them, are practically identical with the functions of *Twanyirika* and *Tumana* and the rest in the centre and north. The *Wiradjuri* *Daramulun*, like the *Maitu* of the *Loritia*, has a leg which ends in a sharp bone.‡ Among seven of these tribes a larger (male) and a smaller (female) bull-roarer are used: among the Kurnai the larger represents *Tandan*, father of the race, the smaller represents his wife; but the distinction of sex is not said to exist among the *Chepara* and *Tarbal*; § with the *Chepara* the small bull-roarers given to the initiates are only tokens of initiation. Mr. Howitt thinks, 'but could not be sure,' that the female bull-roarer among the Kurnai indicates ceremonies in which the women take a certain part; || the *Parakalla* also use a larger and a smaller bull-roarer; nothing is said of their sex.¶ Among the *Wiradjuri* the bull-roarer (*mudjigang* or *dobu*) does not, as among the Kurnai, bear the name of the bull-roarer being, *Daramulun*. 'There is an absence in the western tribes of a belief in an anthropomorphic Being by whom the ceremonies were first instituted.'** These western tribes conform to the ideas of the *Dieri*, who have no known All-Father, but believe in a multitude of *Murumurs*—fabulous primal beings like those of the *Aranta* *Alcheringa*. Among them only bull-roarers marked with notches indicating their use at ceremonies are sacred; others are made a joke of.†† Practically they have not been consecrated. 'Changes in custom, according to Howitt and Spencer Gillen, 'have been slowly passing down from north to south, from the *Aranta* and *Dieri* to the sea at Port Lincoln, among the western tribes. The ideas of *Alcheringa* and evolution appear to

be northern and western; the All-Father belief is southern and eastern.

Père Schmidt, who finds the bull-roarers of sex in the reports of R. H. Matthews* among the *Wiradjuri* and other tribes (where Howitt found nothing about sex), and of Strehlow, in connexion with the maternal totem, has a theory that the large bull-roarer represents *Twanyirika*, *Maitu*, etc., as fathers of the race, the small their wives as the mothers of the race,† and connects this with the sun and moon myths, and a period of so-called 'matriarchate' among tribes now reckoning descent in the male line, also with the 'sex totems' (animal friends of either sex) of the Kurnai and many other Australian tribes. There is also a theory of Papuan invasions, but the whole hypothesis cannot here be criticized.‡

The bull-roarer is in general use, among the central tribes, for magical purposes, and the spiritual element of their philosophy, as regards conception, is involved, especially in connexion with the stone *churinga* *manja* of the *Aranta* nation, which are often, but not always, shaped like bull-roarers. Elsewhere these stone *churinga*, with totemic markings, are not found in use among the *Australians*.

Marrett has advanced the opinion that 'the prototype' of the All-Father 'is nothing more or less than' the bull-roarer. 'Its thunderous booming must have been eminently awe-inspiring to the first inventors, or rather discoverers, of the instrument, and would not unnaturally provoke the "animatistic" attribution of life and power to it . . . a genuine Religion . . . has sprung up out of the Awe inspired by the bull-roarer.'§

But, as we have seen, there are, even in Australia, plenty of bull-roarers where there is no All-Father. Among the *Aranta*, *Altjira* has nothing to do with the bull-roarer, nor has *Ulthana*, another sky-dwelling being of the *Aranta*.|| It is usually not the All-Father, but his 'boy,' as *Tandan*, who manages the bull-roarer. Moreover, it is thunder, not the bull-roarer, which very naturally inspires awe; it is the voice of the All-Father; the bull-roarer only represents that voice. Finally, the All-Father is found all over the world, in places where the bull-roarer is unknown.

The bull-roarer is of more importance in Australian religion, myth, and ritual than elsewhere. Its use at the Greek mysteries of *Dionysus* was explained by the story that it was a toy of the child-god.¶ Two or three bone bull-roarers of palæolithic times have been discovered and published. Like those of the north and central Australian tribes, they are decorated with incised concentric circles or half-circles. Thus palæolithic man may have had a religion akin to that of the *Australians*.

Bull-roarers in connexion with religion or magic are found in South and West Africa; among the *Apache* and *Navaho* Indians of North America, and the *Koshimo* of British Columbia,** where the

* *Anthropological Notes of the Tribes of N.S.W. and Victoria*, p. 155 f.

† Schmidt, op. cit., pp. 522, 521.

‡ Schmidt, 'L'Origine de l'idée de Dieu,' in *Anthropos*, 1902, p. 1.

§ *Threshold of Religion*, 1909, pp. 17-19.

|| Strehlow, l. c.; Gillen, *Horn Expedition*, iv. 126.

¶ Lobeck, *Apollonophanes*, l. 702.

** To these tribes may be added the *Hakima*, *Kwakwaka*, *Aragaho*, *Uta*, *Central Californians*, *Pueblo*, and the ancient *Old-Worlders*. The *Hopi*, who regard the bull-roarer as a prayer-stick of the thunder, and its whistling notes as representing the wind that accompanies the storm, make the tablet portion from a piece of lightning-rod wood. . . . The *Navaho* make the bull-roarer of the same material, but regard it as representing the voice of the thunder bird, whose figure they often paint upon it. . . . *Apache*, *Hopi*, and *Zuni* bull-roarers bear lightning symbols; and while in the semi-arid region the instrument is used to invoke clouds, lightning, and rain, and to warn the initiated that rites are being performed, in the humid

* Spencer-Gillen, l. c.

† Spencer-Gillen, and Strehlow, op. cit.

‡ Howitt, l. c.

§ l. c. 222. ¶ l. c. 222-223. || l. c. 222. ** l. c. 222.

bull-roarer being, as in Australia, is said to carry away the young initiate. This fable is, of course, intended merely for the women and children, the boys, when initiated, discover the absurdity of the fable. Central Brazil, New Guinea, the Torres Islands, Florida in the Melanesian group, the North-West Solomon Islands, and Sumatra are all familiar with the bull-roarer. For modern Europe, as well as for the lower culture, see A. C. Haddon, *The Study of Man*, pp. 277-327, and *GB* iii. 494. In Aberdeenshire the cow-herd boys used to swing the bull-roarer as a charm against thunder.

The most astonishing parallel to the Kaitiah story of a bull-roarer dropped from heaven to earth by Atnate occurs in the following note of the present writer, which, fortunately, is dated: 'Bull-roarer in Castrye' (Argyll) "Swannan, pronounced *Strundhann*, the first in this quarter fell from Juppiter." Macalister, October 20, 1886. Mr. Macalister was a Gaelic-speaking schoolmaster at St. Mary's Loch, in the parish of Yarrow, Selkirkshire, and was an aged man in 1886, full of vigour and intelligence. The parallel myth of the Kaitiah was not published till 1904. For a drawing of a Maori bull-roarer, in the Christy Museum, and for an early study of the subject, see 'The Bull-roarer in Lang's *Custom and Myth*, pp. 20-44 (1894 and later editions). For the use of *perupari* pipes in Brazil, to scare away the women from the rites of the men, see A. E. Wallace, *Travels on the Amazon*, 1853, p. 346.

LITERATURE.—This literature has been given throughout the article.
A. LANG.

BULLS AND BRIEFS.—Under this heading may be conveniently considered not only those documents of the Papal chancery which are technically so designated, but also the various other classes of 'apostolic letters' which in comparatively modern times have been increasingly employed by the Roman Pontiffs in their most important utterances. For this wider interpretation of the name 'bulls' there is excellent authority. Both bulls and briefs are in their essence Papal letters, and the quasi-official collection known as the *Bullarium Romanum* includes Encyclicals, Motu Proprios, and other similar constitutions which possess just the same force, as sources of the Canon Law, as the bulls, briefs, and decretals which we should primarily expect to find there (see the prefatory letter prefixed to vol. I. of the *Bullarium* of Benedict XIV.). For the same reason any calendar of Papal *Urkunden*, such as the important *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum* (from the beginning to 1198) of Jaffe-Löwenfeld (continued to 1304 by Potthast), might be correctly described as an abstract of the letter-books of the Holy See; and in point of fact the first authentic document which Jaffe has summarized, or in other words the first Papal bull, in the wider sense, of which the text is preserved to us, is the famous letter addressed by Pope Clement I. (Clement Romanus) to the Church of Corinth. This, and two other letters of the time of Pope Cornelius, form the only complete specimens we possess of the official correspondence of the Popes down to the middle of the 4th century.

1. Early Papal letters.—Beginning, however, with the time of Pope Julius I. (337-352), a much

larger collection of documents becomes available. This fact alone lends a certain probability to the conjecture based upon the language of the *Liber Pontificalis* (l. 306, ed. Duchesne), that a reorganization of the Papal archives took place under this pontificate. We hear of a body of officials (*schola notariorum*) and of a responsible director (*prætorius*), while only a few years later an inscription of Pope Damasus seems to speak of the construction of a special archivium, later called the *scrinium* (see de Rossi, 'La Biblioteca della Sede Apostolica,' in *Studi di Storia e Diritto*, v. 341).

The natural result of the official registration of documents which all this organization seems to imply must have been to create by degrees a recognized Pontifical chancery, and to establish the use of traditional forms and customs with regard to the drafting, dating, and expediting of Papal letters, which we find fully developed at a later period. Down to the time of Hadrian I. (772-796) our knowledge of these forms is somewhat vague, and in no case founded upon the original documents themselves. For the most part the texts of which we have copies are of an epistolary or hortatory character, often more extracts, in which addresses, salutations, and subscriptions are naturally little regarded. The earliest Papal writings known to us which have any claim to be regarded as legal instruments date from the beginning of the 8th cent., and were addressed by Pope Zosimus to the Bishops of Arles (see Manni, *Concilia*, iv. 250; and H. J. Schmitts in *Histor. Jahrb.* xii. [1891] 1 ff.; but cf. Nottis-Riemann, *ZKT* xxi. [1897] 6 ff.). Still, the number of Papal letters of earlier date than the year 772, preserved to us in whole or in part, amounts in round numbers to nearly 2400, and in some cases, notably in that of Pope Gregory the Great, we can argue back to the arrangement of these letters in the *Regesta*, or letter-books, from which they have ultimately been copied. Even from an early period it seems that the Papal chancery was carefully organized, for already in the time of Gelasius I. (492-496) we find traces of the numbering of the letters in the *Regesta*, and we know that the *prætorius notariorum*, or head of the chancery, was one of the most important officials in the Roman Church. He was the Pope's counsellor (*consiliarius*), by which name he is sometimes designated, and during the vacancy of the See he exercised for the time being a supreme authority in conjunction with the archpriest and the archdeacon. We have also reason to believe that the *secundarius*, or second in command, was regarded as holding an important post of trust.

As regards the drafting of the documents of this early period, it seems clear that they were all modelled on the type of an ordinary Roman letter. Like a Roman letter, the missive is preceded by an *insinuatia*, or formal naming of the writer, and an *encriptio*, or naming of the addressee, this last being often coupled with a form of salutation. Thus: 'Leo Episcopus, Presbyteris et Diaconibus Ecclesie Alexandrinæ, dilectissimis filiis, in Domino Salutem.' In many cases, however, the *encriptio* precedes the *insinuatia*, as, for example, 'Gloriosissimo et clementissimo Filio Justiniano Augusto, Vigilius Episcopus.' Gregory the Great seems to have been the first to employ habitually the formula 'servus servorum Dei' in the *insinuatia* of his letters, but this style was not at once adopted by his successors. It seems, however, to have gradually won its way back into favour, and in the Papal letters of the 8th cent. it is rarely omitted. The salutation, which was by no means always appended to the *encriptio*, takes different forms. In the earlier letters we find simply

even it is used to implore the wind to bring fair weather. The bull-roarer is a carved implement, associated with rain, wind, and lightning, and among the Kwakwaka, according to Ross, with ghosts (Hough in *Handbook of Amer. Indians*, I. [- *Bulletin* 50 B.F.] 170 L, where further literature is given). From these American examples it appears that the bull-roarer is rather a magical instrument than a thing associated with the religious idea of a Lord of Thunder, as among certain Australian tribes.

* Fraser, *GP* III. 424. Note 1 contains a list of authorities.

'salutem'; under Julius I (307-362), 'in Domine salutem,' and, later on, other amplifications. Pope Adeodatus (672-676) adopted the form 'salutem a Deo et benedictionem nostram,' and this perhaps paved the way for the existing usage 'salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.' At the close of the Papal letter was appended, first, the *subscriptio* *papas*, and, secondly, the date. The *subscriptio* *papas* did not take the form of what we should now call a signature, i.e. the writing of the Pope's own name, but consisted simply of a word of blessing and farewell. For example, 'Dons te in oculum custodiat, frater carissime,' or, more commonly, 'Bene vale, frater carissime'; but from the 7th cent. onwards the Papal mimives of a more formal and legal character rarely had any other subscription than the simple 'Bene vale,' or 'Bene valeto.' As for the date, which comes last of all, it was probably never omitted in the originals, though it is so often lacking in the copies which have been preserved to us. Down to the end of the 5th cent. we usually find only the day of the month and the names of the consuls, e.g. 'Data tertio Idus Februaris, Arcadio et Bonitone consulibus'; but from about 480 onwards the year of the indiction is, at first sometimes, and later on invariably, added. With regard to the body of the document, it is easy, especially with the aid of the numerous extant letters of St. Gregory the Great, to recognise the gradual introduction of certain traditional forms and phrases. The occurrences in our copies of such abbreviations as 'secundum morem,' or 'de more solito,' implies the same, and in the so-called *Liber Diurnus* a collection of Papal formularies is preserved to us, the earliest portion of which is believed to have been compiled shortly after St. Gregory's time. We meet also in these early letters, particularly from the time of Leo I. (440-461), a certain rhythmic cadence known as the *curtus*, which, after falling into abeyance for a long period, re-appears at the end of the 11th cent. (see Duchesne, 'Note sur l'Origine du *Curtus*,' in the *Bib. de l'École des Chartes*, vol. I. p. 102), and was then maintained until near the close of the Middle Ages. Finally, the document was probably written on papyrus, and had attached to it a cord, with a leaden seal, the *bulle*. As already stated, no original deeds of this period remain to us, but we have the leaden seals which must once have been attached to letters of Pope John III. (560-573), of Deusedit (618-619), and others. These *bulles* are about an inch in diameter, and bear on one side the Pope's name in the genitive, and on the other the word PAPAE. It is, of course, from this feature that the Papal letters themselves have come to be called 'bullae'; but this designation is not used officially in any early document. The Popes speak of their own letters, or of those of their predecessors, as *litterae*, *epistola*, *papae*, *scriptum*, or, less generally, as *privilegium*, *praeceptum*, or *cruciveritas*.

2. From 773 to 1047.—With the accession of Hadrian I. it is convenient to begin a new period in the history of the Papal chancery, and this for two reasons: first, because the earliest specimen of an original bull—even then a mere fragment, seemingly of a letter on papyrus addressed to Charlemagne—belongs to this pontificate; secondly, because some re-organization of the chancery must have occurred at this time, the result probably of the improved political status of the Holy See, now strong in the support of Popes and his son. Already we may begin to trace that broad division of Papal documents into two categories (see Schmitz-Kallenberg, 'Papsturkunden,' in *Meister's Grundriss*, I. 198), which is practically perpetuated in the popular location of 'bulls and briefs,' though, perhaps, for those

earlier periods it is better to retain the terminology of Braman, Diekamp, and Leopold Delisle, and to speak of 'privilegia' and 'litterae.' The latter class were, as the name imports, simply letters. They were written on sheets of papyrus of smaller size, and elaborate formulas of dating were dispensed with. Their purpose was ephemeral, and as a result the originals have almost completely disappeared, only one entire specimen (of the time of Clement II (1046-1047)) being preserved to us. Of 'privilegia,' however, though these must have been far more rarely issued, a comparatively large number of originals remain, their preservation being the natural result of the fact that they commonly conferred or confirmed a title in matters either of property or of jurisdiction. A catalogue of these early Papal documents on papyrus, twenty three in number, has been given by H. Omont in the *Bib. de l'École des Chartes*, 1904 (cf. also Melampo in *Miscellanea di Storia e Cultura Ecclesiastica*, 1906-1907). Concerning these more formal 'privilegia,' therefore, to which it is usual to give the names of bulls, we are fully informed, and their peculiarities have often been described. They are made of broad strips of papyrus, and the whole document is sometimes as much as 10 ft. long and from 18 to 24 in. broad. A wide margin is left at the top; then follows in large writing the *intitulatio* and *inscriptio*, with the formula 'in perpetuum.' The body of the document comes next in a smaller hand, and beneath it the so-called 'double date.' This consists of two distinct entries, of which the one seemingly has reference to the engraving of the instrument, for it begins with the words 'scriptum per manus N.N.' with the day of the month and the indiction, the other concerned with its final expedition or delivery, and expressed in the words 'Data' or 'Datum,' with month and day and fuller details of the year, 'per manus N.N.' Between these comes the *subscriptio* *papas*, which takes the form of the words †BENE

VALETE†

generally written in two lines in undal letters with a cross preceding and another cross or RS (*subscriptio*) following. That this was at first written by the Pope's own hand is rendered probable by the fact, first, that the hand of the BENE VALETE always differs from that of the body of the document and of the dates; and, secondly, that in the cases in which we possess more than one original bull of the same Pontiff, the identity of the characters of the BENE VALETE seems well established. Further, in certain 'privilegia' of Pope Silvester II. (999-1003) we find invariably added to the BENE VALETE a few words in the so-called 'Tironian notes' or short-hand, for example, 'Silvester Gerbertus Romanus episcopus subscripsit,' or 'Gerbertus qui est Silvester episcopus' (see Ewald in *Neues Archiv*, ix. 221 ff.). Still it would seem that already in the time of Clement II. (1046-1047) the practice was being given up, and that the Pope henceforth was usually content with marking a cross or other private sign beside the BENE VALETE already written there by the engraver. Finally, the *bulle*, or leaden seal, was attached to the document, strings of hemp or silk being passed through the lower margin of the papyrus, which was folded once or twice to give greater strength, while the seal was impressed upon these strings. Down to the end of the 11th cent. the *bulle* bore nothing more than the name of the Pope on one side and the word 'papas' on the other, though the arrangement of the letters, complicated with certain crosses and dots, varied considerably. At this period also, as we may often learn from the details given in the second (or 'delivery') date of the 'privilegia' just described, the chief position

in the Papal chancery was taken by an official known as the *bibliothecarius sanctae apostolice sedis*, who no doubt was originally no more than the custodian of the archives. By degrees, however, he seems to have taken over the functions of the *primicerius notariorum*. He was generally a bishop, and soon we find him commonly invested with the title *cancellarius*. As an illustration of the kind of details given in the second dating clause, the following specimen taken from a bull of Silvester II. of the year 999 may be worth quoting:

'Data VIII Id. decemb. per manum Johannis, episcopi sanctae Albasensis ecclesiae et bibliothecarii sanctae apostolice sedis, anno pontificatus domini nostri Silvestri secundi pape primo, imperante domino nostro merito Otone, a Deo coronato, magno et pacifico imperatore, anno quarto, in mense et indictione superscriptis.'

Although the year of the Incarnation is not here mentioned, it is to be met with occasionally in Papal documents somewhat earlier than this. Details of this kind, which are often of great critical importance, will be found noted at the head of each pontificate in Jaffe-Löwenfeld's *Regesta* and in Mac Latrie's *Traité de Chronologie*, 1860, pp. 1035-1146.

3. From 1048 to 1198.—After the accession of Leo IX. in 1048, the more stable traditions of the Papal chancery seem to have given place to a period of very rapid development. There was at first a good deal of chopping and changing in the forms observed, but after the lapse of about a century we find a pretty general uniformity of usage in documents of the same nature. In any case the broad distinction between 'privileges' and 'letters' still held good, though these great groups themselves have now to be divided into classes, each with characteristics of its own. To begin with the more formal and elaborate documents (the 'privileges'), the era of Leo IX. seems to have introduced the general use of parchment in place of papyrus, and possibly as a consequence of this, the employment of minuscule instead of 'Lombardic' writing; but there were also other changes which may be said to have transformed the external features of the great bulls and to have lasted down to the present day. The *subscriptio papae* ceases to consist in the writing of the words BENE VALETE, this being now represented by a monogram followed by three dots and a huge comma (see, upon this, Pfugk-Hartung in *Mittheil. Inst. Ost. Gesch.* v. [1884] 434 ff.). The comma and dots, which appear but for a short period, probably stood for 'subscript'. In place of the BENE VALETE, the Pope's sign manual now took the form of a 'rota' drawn in the blank space below the centre of the document, but a little to the left. The 'rota,' or wheel, derives its name from the two concentric circles, from 2 to 5 in. in diameter, inside which a cross was drawn, with the words 'sanctus petrus sanctus paulus' and the Pope's name arranged thus:

SCS	SCS
PETRVS	PAVLVS
PASCALIS	
PP	II

Between the concentric circles was written the Pope's motto—usually a brief text from the Psalms. That of Paschal II., for example, was 'Verbo Domini coeli firmati sunt.' Before the first word a rude cross is marked, and this at least is believed to have been done by the Pope's own hand. Between the 'rota' thus drawn to the left and the BENE VALETE monogram standing parallel to it a little to the right, the Pope's name was engrossed in the following or some similar form: 'Ego Paschalis Catholicus Ecclesiae Episcopus subscriptus.' At a somewhat later time the attesta-

tions of a certain number of Cardinals present were also written below the name of the Pope in three columns, consisting respectively of Cardinal Bishops, Cardinal Priests, and Cardinal Deacons. We may say that the 'rota' and B.V. monogram, which appear first in the time of Leo IX. and which with slight variations have lasted down to the present day, still constitute the most striking external feature of the most solemn kinds of bulls. Of the other changes connected with this period it is only needful to notice that the *Scriptum clausae*, i.e. the date of the engrossing, disappears from all Papal documents, and that the leaden *bullae*, which was, as a rule, appended alike to 'privileges' and 'letters,' assumed under Pope Paschal II. (1099-1107) the type which it has retained ever since; that is to say, the obverse of the seal shows the busts of St. Peter and St. Paul facing each other—St. Peter to the spectator's right, St. Paul to the left, with a rude cross between them, while above their heads appear the letters S. P.A. and S. P.E. On the reverse we find the name of the reigning Pope in the nominative, e.g. 'Urbanus PP. III.' On both sides of the *bullae* are circles of dots, and there is some reason to believe that the exact number of these dots for any given pontificate was a point carefully attended to, and was meant to be used as a test of authenticity. There can be no doubt that, like the documents themselves, the leaden *bullae* appended to them were freely fabricated at a later date. Even in the British Museum *Catalogue of Seals* a number of these early *bullae* are entered (vol. vi., Nos. 21081-21098), without any indication of the fact that the examples so described are forgeries.

The tendency to reserve the more elaborate forms of authentication with 'rota,' monogram, and signaturae, as above explained, for certain very solemn 'privileges' became accentuated even during this early period; and Schmitz Kallenberg already distinguishes from them a class of 'simple privileges,' which, while of substantially the same nature as regards their inscription and contents, lack these and some other formalities. In the case of the 'letters' also, we may note two kinds, viz. the *litterae cum filo serico* (i.e. in which the *bullae* hangs by silken cords) and *litterae cum filo canapio* (in which hemp was employed). The authority just named also attributes to this period the first appearance of *litterae clausae*. This does not mean to say that ordinary Papal 'privileges' and 'letters' were sent to the recipient open, so that all men could read them, but only that their fastening, which seems to have been effected by the strings to which the *bullae* was attached, could be undone without mutilating the document. In the case, however, of the *litterae clausae* the parchment was so folded and the *bullae* so attached that nothing of the contents could be read without destroying the *bullae* as an authentication (see Diekamp in *Mittheil. Inst. Ost. Gesch.* iii. [1882] 805 ff.). It is possible that the use of waxen seals with the 'Fisherman's ring' may also date from this time (cf. Jaffe, *Regesta*, Nos. 8926 and 8943), but no specimen is now in existence.

4. From 1198 to modern times.—The pontificate of Innocent III. (1198-1216) marks an epoch of the highest importance in the history of the Papal chancery. From this time forward not only do the original documents exist in abundance, but the official *Regesta*, or letter-books, of which only a few fragments are known before this date, are preserved to us in an almost uninterrupted series. Furthermore, Innocent III., like the great organizer that he was, devoted special attention to this most important matter (*Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique*, vi. 168 ff.). He built new premises for the chancery, and it was no doubt due to his per-

sonal influence that a strict uniformity and an adherence to certain recognised rules are henceforth observable in all its instruments. With the greatly extended authority of the Holy See and its more frequent intervention in matters other than purely religious, the scope of the many Papal pronouncements seems to be widened. The distinguished canonist Alexander III. (1159-1181) by his *litterae decretales* (letters containing decisions of points of law submitted to him) had already built up a vast edifice of Case Law, which was soon to be published to the world by Pope Gregory IX. in the Book of the Decretals compiled under Pontifical direction by St. Raymond de Pennafort (1234). The great mass of this material was furnished by the replies of Alexander III., Innocent III., and his two successors, Honorius III. and Gregory IX. himself; and the tone of the law-giver seems insensibly to become emphasized in all subsequent Papal utterances. Moreover, we now touch upon a period when such documents often seem to be addressed to all Christendom, and no longer consistently observe the form of letters directed to an individual or group of individuals. From this date the 'great privileges' with their 'rota' and B.V. monogram and their elaborate attestations of Cardinals become less numerous; while, on the other hand, only a few years later, under Innocent IV., we are for the first time confronted with that form of Papal document, technically and strictly known as a 'bull,' which is something intermediate between the formal 'privilege' and the simple 'letter.' In this, as in a 'privilege,' the first line is written in tall letters, but it ends not with the abbreviation IN PP. (in perpetuum), but with the phrase 'ad perpetuam rei memoriam,' or something equivalent, e.g. 'ad certitudinem perpetuam et memoriam futurorum.' There is often no mention of the person addressed; but the document concludes with certain minatory clauses, 'Nulli ergo,' etc., and 'Si quis,' etc., directed against all who may contravene what is therein laid down, ending, without any other subscription, in a simple date mentioning the place, the year of the Incarnation (but this was a later addition), and the year of the pontificate. To this document the ordinary leaden *bulle* was attached by silken cords. It was in this form that many important pronouncements were given to the world during the 13th and 14th cents., more particularly the manifestos of Boniface VIII., e.g. the *Ausculta fili* and the *Unam sanctam* which provoked as much resistance from their appeal to the authority of 'the two swords' and the consequent claim to far-reaching authority in temporal matters. As the initial words themselves of the bull *Ausculta fili*, directed to Philip IV. of France, would suffice to show, many of these utterances were still letters in form and addressed to individuals, but in their scope they appealed to Christendom at large.

In Innocent III.'s days some of these quasi-political documents took the form of 'privileges.' This was the case with the bull in which Innocent accepted and ratified the surrender by which king John made England a fief of the Holy See. But after the 14th cent. this more elaborate form of instrument—'consistorial bulls,' as they were called, from the fact that the attestations of the Cardinal Bishops, Cardinal Priests, and Cardinal Deacons were given in one of those assemblies of Cardinals in council with the Pope, known as 'Consistorium'—became very unusual. It was confined, in fact, to concessions which called for special solemnity, to bulls of canonization, and to a few important constitutions such as the bull of Julius II. (18th July 1511), convoking the Fifth Lateran Council, or the confirmation of the Council of Trent by Pius IV. (30th Jan. 1564). By excep-

tion the bull conferring on Henry VIII. the title of 'Defender of the Faith' was made out in consistorial form and sealed with a golden *bulle*; but even such a document as the condemnation of the Pragmatic Sanction on 10th Dec. 1516, though decided upon in the Lateran Council itself, was executed in an ordinary bull; and it may in general be assumed that from the 14th cent. onwards, when the term 'bull' is used (as, for example, the 'bull of demarcation of Alexander VI.' determining the respective limits of the Portuguese and Spanish possessions in the Indies; the 'dispensation bull' for the marriage of Henry VIII. with his brother's widow; or the bull of Pius V. deposing Queen Elizabeth, etc.), the instrument so designated observed the following forms which for clearness' sake it will be well to recapitulate:

(1) The document begins with the Pope's name and 'servus servorum Dei' followed by a periphrastic clause or, less commonly in the case of a bull addressed to an individual, by the name of the addressee and addressee. Thus in the former case we have 'Nos apostolicus servus servorum Dei, ad perpetuam rei memoriam,' or, in the latter 'Nos apostolicus servus servorum Dei, dilectio filio etc.' (salutation of apostolic benediction).—(2) The dating clause, which comes at the end of the whole, takes the following form and order: 'Datum Romae apud S. Petrum (or elsewhere) anno incarnationis Domini millesimo quingentesimo octavo, pontificatus nostri anno quinto.'—(3) To this was appended, by strings of silk or hemp, the *bulle* bearing the hands of St. Peter and Paul, and on the other side the name of the reigning Pope.—(4) The document was engraved upon thick parchment, in an archaic hand, which, after the mature Roman style of writing came into use, became very artificial and cumbersome, and was known as *scriptura bullata*. During the 17th cent. this writing and its constructions became so unfamiliar that it was customary to have a transcription, or copy in ordinary handwriting, along with the official document.—(5) After the entrance of the bull, and before the dating clause, we commonly find inserted certain imprecatory clauses: 'Nulli ergo, etc.,' and 'Si quis autem, etc.,' though this rule was not inviolable. It may be well to set down the precise form which these clauses ordinarily take: 'Nulli ergo omnes hominum licet hanc paginam nostrae communitatis infringere vel ei contra temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attemptare presumpserit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei ac beatorum Petri et Pauli, apostolorum ejus, se noverit incursurum.' Sometimes these imprecatory clauses are further followed by directions as to the execution and publication of the bull, or again by clauses of derogation, beginning: 'Non obstantibus constitutionibus et ordinacionibus apostolicis, privilegiis quocumque et indultis,' etc.

Some of the distinctions here indicated, notably the presence or omission of the imprecatory clauses, correspond with a distinction in the bulls themselves, which in the 13th and subsequent centuries are commonly classified as either *tituli* or *mandamenta*. The *tituli* were for the most part acts of grace (*indulgentiae*), concessions of privileges, confirmations, decisions of points of doctrine or law, etc. On the other hand, the *mandamenta* represented the ordinary correspondence of the Holy See. They were orders of the Pope, commissions to conduct an inquiry or to reform abuses, letters written to communicate some important intelligence, or to invite the co-operation of temporal sovereigns, or to prescribe a line of conduct for clergy or laity. Their tenor nearly always includes the formula 'per apostolicam scriptam mandamus,' or 'precipiendo mandamus'—a phrase for which the words 'rogamus,' 'exhortamur,' 'monemus' are sometimes substituted. Of these two classes the *tituli*, though of less interest to the student of history, were the more solemn in form, the imprecatory clauses being rarely omitted. The writing was elegant, and carefully executed according to certain strict rules, while the *bulle* was attached with cords of red and yellow silk. On the other hand, the *mandamenta* showed both in substance and form that they were intended to serve a more temporary purpose. The writing was in a more flowing hand, less ornate and less carefully executed, the imprecatory clauses were generally omitted, and the *bulle* was attached with cords of hemp. Throughout we recognize the tendency to simplify and to make the issue of bulls, especially

those of an administrative nature, more expeditious. But though the formalities observed in the preparation of a *mandamentum* of the 14th cent. fell far short of what was needed for a comestorial bull, still even in the former the endorsements of the various officials of the chancery, mostly entered upon the *plica*, or fold of the parchment, show that it must have passed through a large number of different hands—*abbreviatores*, *scriptores*, *registratores*, and finally the department of the *bullatores*, who affixed the seal (see Baumgarten, *Aus Kasselei und Kasselei*, Freiburg, 1907). No wonder we find that under the pontificate of Eugenius IV. (1431) a new form of Papal letter of a more summary kind was instituted by the Holy See, and that henceforth this was commonly employed in all matters requiring despatch.

This was known as a 'brief,' and it soon almost entirely took the place of the earlier *mandamentum*. A brief was a document written upon fine vellum, and sealed, not with a leaden *bulla*, but with a wax seal bearing the imprint of the 'Fisherman's ring.' It was written in a fine cursive Roman hand, and at the head occurs simply the Pope's name standing by itself thus:

EUGENIUS PP. III.

Immediately below this, the Pope greets the addressee in the vocative, according to his rank and condition, e.g. 'Dilecto filii,' or 'Carissime in Christo filii,' or 'Venerabilis pater in Domino,' etc., with the salutation 'salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.' In constitutions of a more solemn and permanent character we often find, instead of this greeting, the formula, also already long familiar in bulls, 'ad perpetuam rei memoriam.' Another distinctive feature of briefs is the final clause expressing the date. It almost invariably takes this form: 'Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum, sub annulo Piscatoris, die IX Novembris MDXCVII pont. ari. anno primo.' In contradistinction to the dating of bulls, which generally, though not invariably, at any rate down to the pontificate of Innocent XII., is to be referred to the years of the Incarnation, beginning 25th March, the years are here to be understood as those of the Nativity. Beneath the date the name of the Cardinal Secretary of Briefs is usually written as an attestation of authenticity.

With regard to the form of instrument chosen, let us note that this has little to do with the importance or binding force of any Papal pronouncement. The decretals, upon which the fabric of Canon Law was largely built up, almost invariably took the form of lesser bulls, i.e. simple letters or *mandamenta*. The first known *Bulla in Corno Domini*, containing the 'Reserved Cases' of the Holy See, issued by Urban V. in 1364, was a *mandamentum*. No doubt there was at times a very natural wish to impart some extraneous solemnity to documents of dogmatic importance. For example, the constitution of Benedict XII., beginning 'Benedictus Deus' (29th Jan. 1336)—which decides a controversy regarding the Beatific Vision, and contains the notable formula, 'Hac in perpetuum valitura constitutione auctoritate apostolica definimus'—was issued as a *titulus* with imprecatory clauses. The dispensation for the marriage of Henry VIII. with his brother's widow was drawn up first in great haste, and secretly transmitted to Spain as a brief, while it was afterwards more publicly expedited as a bull; but the brief, its authenticity once admitted, was of just the same force as the bull. So again, Benedict XIV., when compiling the first volume of his own pontifical acts, and sending it officially to the University of Bologna as a collection of authoritative rulings in the Canon Law, declares that it contains 'nostrae Constitutiones, videlicet Bullas, et aliqua Brevia,

Litteras Encyclicas et alia huiusmodi,' making no distinction between the authority attaching to these different instruments. So, in more modern times, the Society of Jesus, suppressed by Clement XIV. with a brief, was restored by Pius VII. in a bull; while Leo XIII. used a bull to re-establish the Catholic hierarchy in Scotland, though Pius IX., twenty-eight years before, had issued only a brief to effect the same purpose in England. The seal with the 'Fisherman's ring,' which is the distinctive mark of the brief, was formerly always impressed upon red wax within a loop formed by a twisted strip of parchment, and arranged in such a way that the seal served at the same time to close and secure the folded sheet of vellum to which it was affixed. The 'Fisherman's ring' is mentioned in 1205 as used by the Pope to authenticate his private correspondence, and is probably much older. The earliest existing impression is said to have been discovered in the treasury of the Sancta Sanctorum at the Lateran. It belongs to the time of Nicholas III. (1277-1280), and represents St. Peter fishing with a rod and line; but the identification seems somewhat doubtful. In the later examples St. Peter is represented in a boat drawing in the net.

In quite modern times some notable modifications have taken place in the rules of the Papal chancery regarding the issue of bulls and briefs. Since 1842 the impression of the 'Fisherman's ring' upon red wax attached to briefs has given way to a stamp in red ink bearing the same device. In the case of bulls, the *scriptura bollationis* engrossed upon great sheets of parchment has for ordinary purposes been discarded—this took place at the beginning of the pontificate of Leo XIII. in 1878—and the document is now written in the same legible Roman hand which is used for briefs, while the leaden *bulla* has given way in most cases to a stamp in red ink that can more conveniently be sent by post. It is likely also that the complicated formalities, which till quite lately attended the ordinary expedition of bulls by the *via di cancellaria*, will be much simplified in consequence of the recent re-organisation of the Roman Curia.

Other Apostolic Letters.—As a further consequence of the delays and complications attending the issue of bulls, another new kind of instrument came into use at the end of the 15th cent. under Innocent VIII. It was a species of brief known as a *motu proprio*, and it was without any authenticating seal. As its name imports, it professed to be a document issued by the Pontiff of his own initiative, without any instance being made to him by interested parties. The documents of this class, which continued to be very common during the 16th cent., closely resembled briefs in their general features, but there are differences in the manner of dating, and, of course, there is no mention of the 'Fisherman's ring.' On the other hand, the words '*motu proprio*' are always introduced, and occur not uncommonly as the initial words of the document. For the most part these *motu proprio*s were concerned with the administration, ecclesiastical or civil, of the city of Rome and the government of the Papal States, and, in contrast with the more formal bulls and briefs, were frequently couched in Italian. From the insistence which their form seemed to lay upon the Papal initiative, they were regarded by foreign governments, notably by that of France, with disfavour, and treated as an encroachment upon the liberties of the Gallican Church.

In more modern times, the Roman Pontiff, when wishing to impart instruction to the clergy and laity of the Church over which they rule, especially in matters which require somewhat elaborate treatment, have most commonly had recourse to an

is always crying out and cutting himself with stones.' But the essence of his case did not lie in its morbid extremes, but in a genuine conviction of sin which was the Divine preparation for the comfort of the Cross. Gradually he found his way to peace, the two chief influences being Luther's commentary upon *Galatians*,—'most fit for a wounded conscience',—and the ministry of John Gifford. This man had formerly been a loose liver and an officer in the Royalist army, then a physician in Bedford; finally from 1660, being now a changed man, he became the pastor of the newly formed Nonconformist congregation in Bedford. He was doubtless the prototype of 'Evangelist'; he helped Bunyan the pilgrim towards the wicket gate and the shining light, and received him into the fellowship of the congregation in 1663. From that year until 1680 the congregation met in St. John's Church at Bedford, for the experiment of a comprehensive national Church was being tried under Cromwell, and Gifford had been presented to the living of St. John's.

In 1665, Bunyan removed from Elstow to Bedford. In the same year he lost his first wife, and was also called by his brethren to open his lips as a preacher: 'They desired me, and that with much earnestness, that I would be willing at sometimes to take in hand, in one of the meetings, to speak a word of exhortation unto them.' His message proved immediately acceptable: people came by hundreds to hear him; during the period of tolerance he preached more than once even in parish churches. But the Restoration brought the Act of Uniformity. Even as early as March 1666 there had been trouble. The minutes of the Bedford church mention a meeting 'for counsaile what to doe with respect to the indolent against bro. Bunyan at ye Annus for preaching at Eaton.' Nothing seems to have come of that, but 1660 brought his arrest and the beginning of his imprisonment. There has been much uncertainty as to the number and places of his incarcerations, but once more Dr. Brown's careful weighing of evidence must decide the matter, reinforced as it has been by the discovery of the actual warrant of arrest for his second and shorter imprisonment in the end of 1675. The first imprisonment was in the County Gaol at Bedford, and lasted for twelve years, with a break in the middle, and with a considerable amount of liberty at times, varied with periods of greater strictness. He made tagged lines for his own support; wrote *Graves & bounding* and several other books; and preached in the gaol, and occasionally outside it. The second was in the Town Gaol on Bedford Bridge: it lasted six months, and produced the first part of *The Pilgrim's Progress*. When the first imprisonment drew to a close, the prisoner found new and enlarged service waiting for him. The following appears in the records of the Bedford church for 21st Jan. 1679:

'After much seeking God by prayer and other conference formerly had, the Congregation did at this meeting with joyous consent (signified by solemn lifting up of their hands) call forth and appoint our brother John Bunyan to the pastoral office or eldership. And he, accepting thereof, gave up himself to serve Christ and his Church in that charge; and received of the Elders the right hand of fellowship.'

An orchard was purchased, and a barn that stood upon it was converted into a meeting place, which was the home of the congregation until long after Bunyan's death.

From this point onwards his fame as a preacher, aided by his growing popularity as a writer, spread far and wide. He became known as 'Bishop Bunyan,' and travelled in many directions through England. He was often in London, where crowds would gather to hear him even at 7 o'clock in the morning. Some of the secrets of his success as a preacher may be guessed from his printed

sermons, even though these in their revised and enlarged form may differ somewhat from the spoken word. He used strong and simple language,—his whole mind being saturated with the English Bible. He spoke with intense conviction, especially at first, upon the guilt and power of sin: 'I preached what I felt, what I smartingly did feel . . . I went myself in chains to preach to them in chains, and carried that fire in my own conscience that I persuaded them to be aware of.' Later he gave more emphasis to 'Jesus Christ in all His offices, relations, and benefits,' and 'the mystery of the union of Christ'; but still, he says, 'I preached what I saw and felt.' There must have been a strongly dramatic element in his preaching, as in his enlargement of St. Peter's words, 'Repent every one of you,' in *The Jerusalem Sinner Saved*:
'O sinner! But I was one of them that plotted to take away his life. May I be saved by him? Peter: Every one of you. O sinner! But I was one of them that have taken witness against him. Is there grace for me? Peter: For every one of you. O sinner! But I was one of them that cried out, Crucify him, crucify him; and desired that Barabbas the murderer might live, rather than him. What will become of me, think you? Peter: I am to preach repentance and remission of sins to every one of you, says Peter. . . O sinner! What a blessed story one of you is here!'

And his message must have been full of a limitless pity and tenderness, the true spirit of an evangelist, the spirit of the Christ whose mercy he had tasted for himself. John Owen is said to have remarked to *Charles II.* that he would gladly give up all his learning for the thinker's power of reaching the heart, and it is very evident that one of Bunyan's secrets of reaching the heart was just his intense compassion. 'Mark Rutherford,' himself no mean stylist, selects the following passage from *The Heavenly Footman* as unmatched in its simple eloquence:

'To encourage thee a little further, set to the work, and when thou hast run thyself down weary, then the Lord Jesus will take thee up and carry thee. Is not this enough to make any poor soul begin his race? Then perhaps cryest, O but I am feeble, I am lame, etc.; well, but Christ hath a bosom, consider, therefore, when thou hast run thyself down weary, he will put thee in his bosom. He shall gather the lambs with his arms, and carry them in his bosom, and shall gently lead those that are with young. This is the way that fathers take to encourage their children, saying, Run, sweet babe, while thou art weary, and then I will take thee up and carry thee. He will gather his lambs with his arms and carry them in his bosom; when they are weary, they shall ride.'

There is more than eloquence in such a passage: there is the tenderness of a true shepherd of souls.

In addition to his wide-spread work as preacher and evangelist, Bunyan played a not unimportant part in the earlier history of the Baptist denomination, as an advocate of open communion. The church of which he was pastor had been founded upon a broad basis:

'The principles upon which they thus entered into fellowship one with another, and upon which they did afterwards receive those that were added to their body and fellowship, was faith in Christ and holiness of life without respect to his or their circumstances or opinions in outward and circumstantial things.'

So runs the old church record, and both Gifford and Bunyan seem to have been in sympathy with the basis. Dr. Brown says that, though Gifford is often called a Baptist, there is no evidence to prove him such; and though Bunyan was himself baptized by immersion in the Ouse, he was drawn into controversy with some of the stricter Baptists who found fault with him for his principle of open communion. The substance of his treatise, *Differences in Judgment about Water Baptism as bar to Communion* (1673), and of various other pamphlets and passages, amounts to this—that the point is one for the judgment of the individual, and that the Church dare not reject those who are true believers, whatever their opinion on this point. 'Christ, not baptism, is the way to the sheepfold. . . . Baptism also may be abused, and in whom more is laid upon it by us than is commanded by God.' He gives us his own preference and practice

in a phrase in *The Heavenly Footman*, when, after bidding his readers beware of Quakers, Baptists, Presbyterians, he adds, 'Also do not have too much company with some Anabaptists, though I go under that name myself.' It is a little surprising to find that one who bore the name 'Anabaptist' should have two of his children christened after his own immersion—one at Kistow in 1684 and one at St. Cathbert's, Bedford, in 1678. Can it mean that neither Bunyan's first wife, nor his second, whom he married in 1680 and who proved herself during his tribulation to be a woman of some courage and character, shared his personal view, and that he did not care enough about the matter to insist upon his own preference?

2. *Works*.—According to the list given by Dr. Brown, based upon that of Bunyan's friend, Charles Doe, Bunyan produced in all 80 works, one for each year of his life. But this includes such items as *A Map of Salvation*, and various tracts and poetical pieces of small bulk, as well as the longer controversial, evangelistic, and allegorical works. *Grace Abounding* is referred to above. Of the others, apart from the three greatest, the most noteworthy are: *Some Gospel-Truths opened*, interesting now chiefly as Bunyan's first book, published in 1666, a fiery protest against Quaker Mysticism, clear in its style and orderly in its arrangement, but giving a hint only in an occasional phrase of the greater riches that were to come; the various books, such as *Ours and Welcomes to Jesus Christ*, *The Jerusalem Sinner Saved*, and *The Heavenly Footman*, which preserve for us the style and substance of Bunyan's actual preaching; his Catechism, *Instructions for the Ignorant*; and *A Book for Boys and Girls, or Country Rhymes for Children*. This last is quaint and valuable in itself, and is perhaps the *font of origin* of a slender but sparkling literary stream which has flowed intermittently through the generations, and has not yet spent itself—witness *The Child's Garden of Verse*. Probably the modern child, accustomed to the skilful and dainty catering of R. L. Stevenson and others, would count Bunyan's verse, except in one or two cases, somewhat heavy and didactic. Yet to the boys and girls of the 17th cent. these 'rhymes' may have been almost as much of a relief and joy as R. L. S. and Edward Lear to the happier children of the later 19th century.

Bunyan's poetry has been severely criticised. It may be admitted that in verse he seldom found his forte, and that his more extended poems are degraded. Yet in this regard Bunyan is better worth knowing than the critics would have us believe. Many of his verses are of lean construction, pithy, and memorable. And something is to be said for the poetic quality of the man who wrote the song of the Shepherd Boy, and those *Stanzas upon the Crucifix*:

'This pretty Bird, Oh! how she flies and sings!
But could she do so if she had not Wings?
Her Wings bespeak my Faith, her Songs my Praise;
When I believe and sing, my Doubtings cease.'

The first part of *The Pilgrim's Progress* was published in 1678, the second part about seven years later. The book was an immediate and amazing success. Three editions of the first part were sold in a year, and in the second and third of these the original scheme was wisely added to—Worldly Wiseman, Mr. By-ends' relations, and Giant Despair's wife being among these happy after-thoughts. In Bunyan's lifetime 100,000 copies were sold. It is the greatest of allegories. It is the fine flower of Puritan theology and experience. It may be called the first great English novel. 'John Bunyan may pass for the father of our novelists,' says Hallam. Into it, with a pen that had found freedom and mastery, he put all his marvellous powers of observation; the man who has given us Mr. Talkative and Mr. Fearing went about the world with his eyes and ears open. Into

it he also put all his own experience, so rich in sorrow and in joy. The temptation is strong to suggest originals for the allegorical scenes and personages. Was Kistow Abbey the House Beautiful, and was the Slough of Despond suggested by the miry fields near Bunyan's birthplace? Was Judge Jeffreys or Sir John Kelynge the original of Judge Hate-good? Was Faithful's voice, overheard in the valley, the voice of Martin Luther? And was Christiana Bunyan's second wife and Mercy his first? These things are better left vague. But we touch the real source of the whole matter when we study Bunyan's own experience. Here, e.g., is the original of the Slough of Despond in *Grace Abounding*: 'I would in these days, often in my greatest agonies, even faince towards the promise, as the horses do towards sound ground, that yet stick in the mire.' There have been very varying judgments as to the value of the second part of *The Pilgrim's Progress*. Its geographical interest is, of course, less than that of the first, because the story leads the reader along a familiar path; and the dialogue is in places weaker. But Mr. Proude's severe disparagement is entirely misleading, if only because of the extraordinary richness of the second part as a book of character. Mr. Briak, Mr. Honest, Greatheart, Mercy, Mr. Fearing, Madam Bubble, and the rest are inimitable and immortal. But, indeed, criticism of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, if it be based on sympathy, soon loses itself in affection. Sir Walter Scott speaks for the multitude of Bunyan's readers when he says:

'John Bunyan's parables must be dear to every, as to us, from the recollection that in youth they were endured with permission to pursue it at times when all studies of a nature nearly entertaining were prohibited' (Quart. Rev., Oct. 1833).

No other book except the Bible so unites the hearts of young and old, learned and simple, the lover of beauty and the lover of sanctity.

In *The Life and Death of Mr. Badman*, published in 1680, Bunyan made an attempt to tell the opposite story, and describe a pilgrimage from bad to worse. The attempt is not very successful. It is retarded by being cast in dialogue form throughout; it is weighted with amazing anecdotes, which, however interesting from their mere incredibility, distract attention from the main story; it loses itself in tedious discussions, e.g., on the difference between cursing and swearing. But the pen that created the Pilgrim had not lost all its cunning. There are many passages acute in observation and happy in expression, like the phrase about Mr. Badman's 'mournful, sugared letters' to his creditors; and the book is full of Bunyan's keen observation and knowledge of life: 'I think I may truly say that, to the best of my remembrance, all the things that I here discourse of, I mean as to matters of fact, have been acted upon the stage of this world, even many times before mine eyes.' And the book has value still as a picture of the rougher and uglier side of English life in Bunyan's time. Perhaps the author's artistic restraint is never more finely exhibited than in giving Mr. Badman a quiet and peaceable deathbed.

In *The Holy War* (1682) Bunyan rose again almost to his own loftiest level, and created another allegory second only to *The Pilgrim's Progress*. The task in this case was more difficult. Though there is more Biblical foundation for the figure of a war than for that of a pilgrimage, the former is less easy to draw out into a connected story. Defects and inconsistencies are easily observable, e.g., Mansoul seems now the soul of a man, now the soul of humanity. It is dangerous also to bring

'O! Mansoul in his story on 'John Bunyan': 'That wonderful book, while it obtains admiration from the most fastidious critics, is loved by those who are too simple to admire it.'

the Persons of the Trinity into action and dialogue. But if there be defects in construction, there is not a weak page in the actual writing, and the style throughout seems mysteriously to take on a quality kindred to its theme—something of the strength of a trumpet, something of the sound of a trumpet. Once more observation and experience are manifest continually. Bunyan's soldiering serves him well in his battle scenes. His heart remembers how this sort of thing is done: the evolutions of Emmanuel's army, 'the handling of their arms and managing of their weapons of war, were marvelously taking to Mansoul and me.' The new modelling of Mansoul is a reflexion of the changes that were compulsorily brought about in the civic arrangements of towns like Bedford as Commonwealth or Monarchy got the upper hand. The setting up of a ministry in Mansoul is also full of echoes of times when the ecclesiastical foundations were unsettled, and contending ideals enjoyed alternate periods of supremacy. Bunyan handles all this with exhaustless skill and ingenuity: e.g. there is a whole analysis of persecution, clear and complete, packed into one corner of the plot. When the Bloodmen were taken, they were had before the Prince, and

'he found them to be of three several countries, though they all came out of one head. One sort of them came out of Blindness, and they were such as did ignorantly what they did. Another sort of them came out of Blindness, and they did superstitiously what they did. The third sort of them came out of the town of Malice, in the county of Envy, and they did what they did out of spite and implacability.'

In the scheme of this allegory, there is naturally less room for character-drawing than in the other, yet who can forget that deaf and angry man, old Mr. Prejudice, or the darling of Diabolus, Captain Anything? Moreover, in the dealings between Emmanuel and Mansoul there appears, as in all Bunyan ever wrote, his passionate love for his Lord, and the Lord's love and pity for his sinful but aspiring servants.

3. *Place and influence.*—Bunyan's influence was immediate and enormous, not in his own denomination only, not in his own country only. *The Pilgrim's Progress* was translated into Welsh in 1688, into Dutch in 1682, into German in 1708, into French in 1686. Bunyan's empire has grown steadily with the passing generations, mainly through this his best known book: perhaps the best criterion of its extent to-day is the fact that in the summer of 1900 the Religious Tract Society announces versions in 112 different languages and dialects. Even such an edition as that produced by J. M. Neale in 1863, with insertions and alterations in the worst possible taste, designed to make the book teach a different scheme of doctrine from that of its author, is a proof of Bunyan's wide sovereignty and of the appeal he makes to minds of many different types. In addition to the qualities alluded to incidentally above—his pictorial style, uniting the young and the old; his strong, simple, Biblical English, uniting the educated and the unlearned; his knowledge of life; his faithfulness to his own deep experience; his historical position as our great exponent of Puritanism at its best—the following may be mentioned as among the secrets of an influence so wide and enduring:

(a) *Bunyan's real originality.** This quality

* Hallam, 'that alford of aphorisms,' has this: 'His success in a line of composition like the spiritual romance or allegory, which seems to have been tried and untried in the few instances where it had been attempted, to doubtless enhanced by his want of all learning and his low station in life. He was therefore rarely, if ever, an imitator, he was never excluded by rules. Bunyan possessed in a remarkable degree the power of representation; his inventive faculty was considerable, but the other in his distinguishing excellence. He saw, and makes us see, what he describes: he is circumstantial without prolixity, and, in the variety and frequent change of his incidents, never loses sight of the unity of his allegorical tale' (*Lit. History*, iv. 202).

may be claimed for him even apart from the question of borrowed materials. Shakespeare can be original even when he is working over the story of some old chronicler: resurrection can be so managed as to be equivalent to creation. Much ingenuity, however, has been expended on the attempt to find a source for the *Pilgrim's Progress*. Guillaume de Guilleville's *Le Pèlerinage de l'Homme* in Lydgate's version; Bernard's *The Isle of Man, or the Legal Proceedings in Manshire against Sin*; and other existing allegories or romances have been suggested as the source of Bunyan's inspiration; or it is alleged that he found his seed-thought, say, in *The Plaine Man's Path-way*, or in the letter of an Italian martyr in Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, which says, 'I will travel up to the New Jerusalem. . . . Behold, I have entered already on my journey.' Probably Bunyan gathered seed-thoughts everywhere, and plagiarized prodigiously from the open book of life. But the question of his literary originality is very carefully examined in the preface to Farnivall's edition of Lydgate's *de Guilleville*, and the wise conclusion reached is this: 'In one Book alone, the Bible, supplemented by Bunyan's own experience, we may trace all the influences necessary for the production of *The Pilgrim's Progress*.'

(b) *His practical sagacity and ethical force.* Bunyan the evangelist does not altogether hide Bunyan the moralist: the two are one. 'He was securely weighted with unshifting ballast, the ballast of common sense.' The story of Mr. Badman's fraudulent bankruptcy shows how Bunyan had an eye for the immorities and corruptions of the commercial world. Some of his counsels are startlingly close to modern problems of commercial morality: 'Art thou a seller and do things grow cheap? Set not thy hand to help or hold them up higher. Art thou a buyer and do things grow dear? Use no cunning or deceitful language to pull them down.' There is no thought more characteristic of Bunyan, in spite of his lurid pictures of the agonies of the lost, than this—that sin is hell; sin is the worm; sin is the fire; it would be better to be sinless in hell than to be a sinner in heaven.

(c) *His broad and genial humanity.* This shows itself in many ways,—not least in his kindly and hearty humour,—his portraits, such as those of Mr. Briak, Talkative, Sir Having Greedy, Christians and her comrades dancing over the fate of Giant Despair, his skill in inventing amusing and delightful names, and his way of poking fun at those whom he would gently rebuke. Still more strikingly does his breadth of humanity come out in his whole management of the *Pilgrim's Progress*. There are so few ecclesiastical waymarks that one would never guess the author's own position, and when Giant Pope is omitted the book can be used with profit and pleasure by Catholic readers. He avoids the temptation to which religious teachers of strongly marked experience often yield—the temptation to think that all others must walk in their footprints in order to be safe. This is finely brought out in the contrast between the experiences of Christian and Faithful in the first part, and in the room that is found in the second part for a rich variety of character and experience.

(d) *The note of the Evangel.* The most intimate and enduring secret of the hold that Bunyan has over multitudes of men is this, that he was so great a lover of men, and so passionately loyal to the supreme Lover of men. His friend Doe calls him 'a great convert'; and, because he was so great and so thorough a convert, he is a great exponent of the motives that have supreme converting power. Hence *The Pilgrim's Progress* in, as Coleridge calls

it, '*Summa Theologiae Evangelicae*.' And, in spite of the many changes of standpoint and vocabulary since Bunyan's day, he will still be for many generations to come the teacher and the friend of those who have no other explanation of their own deliverance than this: 'He hath given me rest by his sorrow and life by his death.'

LITERATURE.—The literature of this subject is now enormous. Among the biographies, that by John Brown (London, 1886; new ed. 1903) stands alone in its completeness, and in its wealth of extracts from historical sources such as the minutes of Bunyan's church. Among smaller biographies and critical studies there may be mentioned: Macaulay, *Essays*, 'John Bunyan' (1881); J. A. Froude in the 'English Men of Letters' series (1887); Mark Rutherford in the 'Literary Lives' series (1906); Eves by Southey (1881) and Canon Venables (1888); lectures by Dean Howson in 'Companions for the Devout Life' (1877), and by W. Robertson Nicoll in the 'Evangelical Succession' series (1884). There is also a large literature

of exposition, devoted mainly to *The Pilgrim's Progress*. In addition to the usual books, such as Cheever (1844), there are Kerr-Hall's two volumes on *The People of the Pilgrimage* (1887)—unique in their thoroughness and in the almost too great weight of learning they bring to their task. The lecture-sermons of A. Whyte (two volumes on *The Pilgrim* [1898, 1904], one on *The Holy War* [1906], one on *Grace Abounding* [1908]), are also the product of deep knowledge, sympathy, and enthusiasm, and have done much to create a new public for Bunyan. A series of papers on *The Pilgrim* has recently been contributed by J. Kelman to *The Expository Times* (xvi [1906] ff.). Among earlier fugitive pieces, Sir Walter Scott's review of Southey's *Life* in the *Quarterly Review*, Oct. 1830, is interesting, especially for its comparison and contrast between Bunyan and Spenser. The best vindication of Bunyan's originality is that alluded to above, in 10 pp. of the introduction to Furnivall's *de Gulliville*. Bunyan's *Complete Works* have been edited by G. Offor and B. Philip, 3 vols., London, 1883 (new ed. 1903); and there are critical texts with notes and glossaries issued by the Clarendon Press, Oxford, and (the text alone) by the Cambridge University Press.

J. M. E. ROSS.

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